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ABSTRACT

Intended for agency field personnel who assist in local community development (CD) efforts, this publication is the second of three making up an intensive training manual for community development. Using an inservice training approach, this part of the manual contains four instructional units: rationale for CD training, what CD is (CD as process, program, method, movement, manifestation of democracy), why be involved (aspects of social change creating the need for CD activities), and what one needs to know about CD (community dynamics, agency involvement, problem solving, conflict, change strategies). The manual presents an amplified content outline for each unit, with margin space for notes by trainers or trainees, worksheets for individual and small group participation, and visuals for overhead projection. It includes resource papers on the definition of community development, growth and development, change (in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan settings), guidelines for a good community, the community coordinator, citizen participation, decision making for development, understanding community, alternative development approaches, and process of community problem solving. Workshop exercises, with accompanying worksheets, focus on applying subject matter to participants' work situations, clientele problems, alleviating programs, and impact of change on local communities. (RS)

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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: AN INTENSIVE TRAINING MANUAL

Training for Agency Field Personnel

Unit I: What Is the Rationale for Community Development Training?
Unit II: What Is Community Development?
Unit III: Why Be Involved in Community Development?
Unit IV: What Does One Need to Know About Community Development?

North Central Regional Center for Rural Development
108 Curtiss Hall
Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa

June 1978

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RC 010673

FOREWORD

THIS is the second of three related publications making up a community development training manual. The manual is intended as a resource document for comprehensive and intensive community development in-service training.

The first publication provides background information and suggested procedures for conducting in-service training based on the manual. Its intended primary audience is persons who will be conducting in-service training for which the manual is a primary source.

This publication contains four instructional units and is intended for use with agency personnel who provide assistance to local community development efforts. The instructional units are:

Unit I: What Is the Rationale for Community Development Training?
Unit II: What Is Community Development?
Unit III: Why Be Involved In Community Development?
Unit IV: What Does One Need to Know About Community Development?

A number of resource papers that provide a major portion of the literature base for the instructional units are included as the final portion of this publication.

The third publication contains instructional Unit V, Extension Programming In Community Development, suggested procedures for conducting Unit V training, and supporting resource papers. Training based on Unit V will provide instruction and practice in Extension Programming for Community Development. Its intended primary audience is Extension service personnel whose responsibilities include the planning, implementation, and evaluation of Extension Community Development programs.

Unit I: What Is the Rationale for Community Development Training

by

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Editor: Larry R. Whiting

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Overview of Unit I

This unit provides an initial perspective on the content of the training manual and the rationale for agency field worker involvement in community development[1] (CD) training. In so doing, Unit I "sets the stage" for the entire training manual and for training that uses the manual as a principal resource. Bases for the content and approaches used are identified as a set of premises about communities, agencies, and agency roles. Of necessity, the treatment of these topics is brief and incomplete. In many ways, the entire content of the training manual helps make explicit the basis for choices of content and philosophical orientation. Thus, the primary purpose of this unit is to provide an introduction to Community Development: An Intensive Training Manual.

Objectives and Premises

Instructional Unit I is intended to provide participants with initial perspectives of:

1. The changing social, economic, political, and institutional context within which agencies operate
2. The evolutionary nature of previous in-service training efforts that provide part of the basis for this manual
3. The rationale for, or the "why," of CD in-service training
4. The four units that make up the balance of this training manual

These materials are based upon a set of premises about communities, agencies, and agency roles. The premises are listed here so the trainer and the trainee can be aware of the built-in biases that result.

---

[1] Community development is used in this manual as an all-inclusive term for the broad range of development activities carried on by agencies as they assist local groups and organizations. Several definitional aspects are examined in Unit II to ensure a more complete understanding of the term.

1. Residents of every community experience a continuing need to work together in generating locally acceptable solutions to development problems faced by the community.
2. Agency personnel can provide direct and indirect support of local solutions to these problems because:
    a. They may possess technical skills and/or knowledge needed for the desired solutions.
    b. They may be the means of access to outside-the-community resources that are important to local development efforts.
3. Agency mandates include responsibility for providing assistance appropriate to local needs.
4. Many agency field workers find community development roles to be difficult because their educational backgrounds do not provide appropriate understanding of and skills in working with community decision making.
5. Technical training usually does not place emphasis on the identification and evaluation of the long-run consequences of decisions made as a regular part of agency work. Improved understanding of program impacts will result in greater client acceptance and support of agency efforts.
6. Training to enhance the ability of agency personnel to fulfill the roles described above will facilitate community development activities and enhance agency effectiveness in serving clientele.

Instructional Outline

Material in this section is an amplified outline of the concepts and ideas that make up the instructional content of the unit. Outline items include short quotations, short paragraphs, sentences or partial sentences and (occasionally) single words. The outline provides a simplified ordering of related topics and ideas taken from resource papers and publications included in the list of references.

Presentations by resource persons and training leaders can be based directly on the outline, or concepts, ideas, and examples can be added or deleted. Participants can use the content outline as a framework for taking notes. The wide right-hand margin provides space for notes or other additions by trainers or trainees.

Citations identify sources included in the list of references and resource papers or other documents. Overhead projector visuals are indicated by numbers in parentheses.

The content outline approach to presenting instructional content, the system of citations of sources, and the identification of visuals is followed throughout the five instructional units of the manual.

Outline

Notes

THE CONTEXT OF AGENCY OPERATIONS[2]

> The question of how much human beings can control their own destiny goes back millenia, perhaps to Adam and Eve. We see, even in our own lifetime, what seem to be inexorable trends changing the face of America. Some of them we like. Some of them we don't. And, what is more confusing, it is not always the same set of changes which all groups like or dislike. One man's progress may be another's catastrophe [3, p. 1].

Rapid social, economic and institutional change has been the hallmark of America.

We've been proud of our ability to:

- Dominate the continent and exploit its resources
- Develop and expand our technology
- Attain ever-increasing levels of living

We can point with pride to many resulting advances.

But, we've also incurred a variety of social and economic problems as results of these changes.

---

[2] A comprehensive discussion of this topic can be found in Warren's Truth, Love, and Social Change [2].

Individuals feel as though they have lost control of their lives.

Institutions, organizations, and units of government seem to control everyone and everything.

And, individuals other than the powerful and wealthy have little ability to influence them.

Citizens have become more oriented to large-scale organizations, large corporate employers, large governmental units, and to recognition or advancement systems of regional or national scope.

The other side of these changes has been decreased citizen involvement in and support of locally-oriented social, political, and economic units.

Citizen attention and energy are directed to problems and opportunities outside the site of residence locality.

Local groups, organizations, and units are weakened by lack of leadership, member commitment, and participation.

The benefits of continuing change usually have accrued to:

The better educated or highly skilled

The more mobile

The more adaptable

And, the more socially and economically powerful members of our society

These persons generally have had the ability to secure:

Adequate living conditions

Social and cultural opportunities

Recreational facilities

Governmental services

But, others in our population have been less successful in adapting to change. Many are persons with:

Lesser levels of education

Less marketable skills

Limited mobility (self-imposed or otherwise)

Less adaptability to changing conditions

Limited social and economic power

In a similar manner, most communities have had only limited success with their responses to changing conditions.

Some have been unable to cope with the impacts of outmigration, declining population, and reduced tax base.

Others have been overwhelmed by increasing population and the rapidly expanding impacts of growth.

Stable communities have had lesser problems but have also experienced stress due to changing standards for locally supplied services and rising citizen expectations.

Many rural communities have experienced continuing outmigration of leaders and potential leaders as the more educated and more vigorous citizens have moved away.

As a nation and as states we have responded to the resulting problem by enacting legislation and creating agency programs.

The record on both legislation and programs has been mixed.

Many communities have benefited from these programs only to discover they were unable to cope with the second and subsequent rounds of effects of change.

Rules and regulations, matching requirements or application procedures have been significant barriers to communities' use of programs.

And, citizen participation requirements of some programs have proved difficult to sustain.

Experience to date indicates that agency programs can be resources to local community responses to change but cannot be substitutes for viable local social and political units and institutions.

Thus, agencies try to operate in response to perceived needs but are in a context where the local mechanisms that could support their efforts are weak or ineffectual.

Agency personnel have found themselves operating in more difficult circumstances as a result of these changes.

THE EVOLUTION OF CD IN-SERVICE TRAINING

In-service training in CD has evolved over time as we've learned more about the needs and functioning of agencies and communities.

Early CD in-service training was intended to create awareness of community factors related to agency program delivery responsibilities.

The experiences of field workers who became involved in community development efforts was mixed.

Some found the complexity of community involvement overwhelming.

Many tried to be effective and were frustrated by situations they did not understand.

A few found involvement to be relatively easy and productive.

As experience accumulated, agencies realized involvement in CD required greater depth of understanding than was being gained through awareness training.

The content of training gradually shifted to improving understanding of social systems and the group decision-making process.

This was an improvement, but proved not to be an adequate base for widespread CD involvement of field personnel.

Meanwhile, federal government policies began to emphasize citizen participation in agency program design and delivery.

One result was a spate of training for citizen participation.

Again, success was limited.

This experience and evolution did result in the identification of a core group of social science concepts that appear to provide a fundamental basis for CD involvement (see "Community Development Concepts, Curriculum, Training Needs" [1]).

Formal knowledge of these concepts can be learned through study.

But, their application involves about as much "art" as "science."

In-service training that combines instruction, discussion, and field experience can develop skills in both the "art," and the "science."

That's what we hope training based on this manual will be.

The manual reflects experience with a training program called, "Intensive Training for Nonmetropolitan Development."

Many of the resource papers of this manual were written for the nonmetro training and were built around concepts that have proven important in CD.

In that training, workshop guides provided a means of applying those concepts to participant's home localities.

And, since we all do best those things we believe in, emphasis was placed on building a personal philosophy supportive of CD involvement.

Discussions and interactions with resource persons provided stimulation for learning.

In this manual, choices about content have been reflected in the instructional units and reference units.

Persons using the manual will add and delete as they think appropriate.

Regardless of final choices on content, four aspects of in-service training appear to be of high priority:

1. The conveying of knowledge of concepts and ideas important to effective work with communities
2. The localization of those concepts and ideas so their application can be recognized in the participant's home work situation
3. The development of a personal philosophy that says, "CD work is important and worth doing"
4. Interaction and discussion with peers that stimulates development of each participant's ability to make operational the training program content he/she has learned

THE RATIONALE FOR CD TRAINING

Communities have recognized the need for effective local action and have undertaken a wide variety of CD activities.

Some have been successful.

Others have been disappointing to those involved.

The dynamics of successfully combining community resources, agency resources, local leadership, and decision-making processes is not well understood.

Agency field personnel have key roles that they can perform in support of local CD activities:

1. They can provide extra skills, knowledge, and resources that may make possible local CD efforts.
2. Delivery of agency programs may provide an important component of resources needed to achieve local goals.

The primary rationale for CD training is recognition of the importance to communities of these key roles of agency field personnel.

Additional components of the rationale for CD training are based on agencies recognition of:

1. The need for CD activities as a means of improving citizen well-being
2. The need for CD activities as a prerequisite to adequate implementation of agency programs
3. The additional responsibilities and needs for skills experienced by field personnel whose job responsibilities now include providing assistance to CD activities
4. The changing expectations of clientele and agency administrators regarding work activities of field personnel

In-service training to increase the CD proficiency of field personnel can improve agency effectiveness through improved employee effectiveness.

It can increase understanding of the need for program approaches that meet citizen and community needs.

And, it can reduce dependance on "package" approaches that often prove inadequate.

The instructional content is not simple, as CD training places emphasis on attainment of understanding and skills applicable to a wide range of community situations.

But, it usually is interesting because it applies to situations where the "action" is.

PERSPECTIVES ON UNITS II-V

Before briefly discussing the content of Units II-V, let's identify the audiences for those units.

The intended audience for Units II-IV is the same as for this unit--governmental agency field personnel with job responsibilities that include involvement in CD.

The intended audience for Unit V is Extension Service field personnel who have CD responsibilities and have been through training based on Units I - IV or have had extensive CD experience.

Unit II - What Is Community Development?

This unit examines conceptualizations of CD as:

1) A process

2) A program

3) A method

4) A movement

5) A manifestation of democracy

An operational definition also is examined.

Emphasis is placed on:

1) The need for understanding of each agency's meaning for the term, community development

2) Organizational conditions that make an agency CD program feasible

3) Role conflict as related to CD

4) Observation and analysis of CD activities observed in a field trip

Unit III - Why Be Involved In Community Development?

This unit provides an in-depth look at several aspects of social change that have caused the need for local CD activities.

These are discussed in terms of:

1) the need for CD as an integrative mechanism by which citizens can become more effective participants in matters that affect their lives,

2) the resulting legitimacy of agency involvement in CD efforts,

3) the limitations of CD efforts given our societal norms and governmental structure, and

4) the roles of the agency field worker who is involved in CD.

Unit IV - What Does One Need to Know About Community Development?

Unit IV places emphasis on building understanding and acceptance of the conceptual "tools" of CD.

Emphasis is placed on participants gaining understanding of:

1) The complex nature and composition of a community
2) The complex of social, economic, political, and institutional linkages existing within and among communities
3) Community (group) decision making and problem solving processes
4) Ways by which agencies can assist communities in decision making and problem solving processes by:
    a) furthering citizen participation
    b) dealing with community conflict
    c) using appropriate change strategies
5) Ways by which agencies can increase their effectiveness in providing assistance to communities and groups involved in problem alleviation activities

Unit V - Extension Programming In Community Development

Participants involved in Unit V training are provided with:

1) A conceptual framework for Extension CD program development implementation, and evaluation
2) Field experience in simulating these programming activities through work group activities

3) Experience in small group process through the simulation process

Discussion and analysis of the reports of work groups is suggested.

THE NEXT STEP

Those training activities are projected to require about four weeks of training participation.

But, like everything else, training occurs a step at a time.

Right now, we'd like to have you think about your reasons for being involved in CD training.

And, we'd like for you to become better acquainted with your fellow participants.

Thus, we suggest turning to the Unit I Workshop Guide as your next activity.

Unit I Workshop Guide

This workshop exercise is a group activity intended to assist you in becoming acquainted with the other members of your discussion group, and in identifying the reasons for your personal involvement in community development work.

First: Take 15 minutes to indicate your answers to the questions, Parts I and II, below. If more than one answer to the question is appropriate, indicate the most important with two checks (✓✓) and those of lesser importance by one check (✓). Write out your answers where appropriate.

Next: Go around the group and have each person introduce himself/herself, give brief answers to the Part II questions and report his/her answers to the Part I questions. Ask questions for clarification. Record any information you think useful on the backs of the workshop guide pages.

Part I Questions (Please read all the questions before answering):

1. My principal reason(s) for being involved in this training is(are):

______ I am interested in CD

______ I would like to know more about CD

______ My experience in CD tells me I need to know more about concepts and approaches used in CD

______ My clientele expects me to know more about CD than I presently know

______ I need to know more about CD to carry out present (or expected) job responsibilities

______ My supervisor sent me to this training

______ Other: ____

____

2. My principal (most numerous) clientele group is ______________

____

My most important clientele group is ______________________

____

My second most important clientele group is ________________

____

3. The most important problems of my principal clientele group are:

1. ____

____

2. ____

____

3. ____

____

4. I can be of assistance to my clientele by using a CD approach in helping them with problem(s) number __________, above. Why and how? ______________________________________

____

____

Part II Questions:

1. My name is ____________________________
2. My agency is ___________________________
3. My job title is ____________________________
4. The geographic area where I work is ____________________
5. The most interesting aspect of my work is ________________

____

6. The least interesting aspect of my work is ________________

____

Cited References

1. "Community Development Concepts, Curriculum Training Needs," A Task Force Report to the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy (Washington, D.C.: National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges) February 1975.

2. Warren, Roland L., "The Context of Community Development," in Truth, Love and Social Change (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company) 1971, pp. 79-94.

3. Warren, Roland L., "The Great Change," In Proceedings of Intensive Training for Non-Metropolitan Development held April 28-May 9, 1975, Lincoln, Nebraska and September 22-October 3, 1975, East Lansing, Michigan. Available from Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Nebraska-Lincoln. (Also included as a resource paper for Unit III.)

Unit II: What Is Community Development?

by

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- An Operational Definition of Community Development

Overview of Unit II

This unit provides a basis for understanding some of the major ways in which agencies and professionals view community development. Emphasis is placed on building understanding of the meanings ascribed to CD by these various viewpoints. An "operational" definition is proposed for use as a basis for more adequate communication within the group of training participants. A small group workshop session and a field trip provide opportunities for internalizing and building understanding of these concepts.

Objectives

Instructional Unit II is intended to provide participants with a basis for:

1) An understanding of community development as a repetitive social process based on wide community participation and oriented to decision making and action.
2) An understanding of community development as a method--a means of achieving an agency goal or end.
3) An understanding of community development as a program--a means of carrying out policies and achieving societal goals set by nonlocal groups, units of government, or governmental policy-making bodies.
4) An understanding of community development as a movement--an activity normatively prescribed as desirable.
5) An understanding of community development as a manifestation of democracy--a means of attaining fulfillment of basic social values.
6) An understanding of an operational definition of CD that can provide a readily understood basis for discussions throughout the training program.
7) An understanding of community development as it is practiced by agencies and in an example community.

Instructional Outline

The material in this section is an amplified outline of the concepts and ideas that make up the content of Unit II. Outline items consist of short quotations, paragraphs, sentences or partial sentences, and (occassionally) single words. The outline provides a simplified ordering of related topics taken from the resource papers and publications included in the list of references.

Presentations by resource persons or training leaders can be based on the outline, and participants can use it as a framework for note-taking. Training leaders may wish to add concepts, ideas, and examples having particular interest to participants.

The wide right hand margin provides space for notes by training leaders and participants. Citations identify sources, resource documents, and discussion questions. Overhead projector visuals are indicated by numbers in parentheses.

Outline	Notes
WHY DO WE NEED TO DEFINE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT?	
Community development is viewed quite differently by persons of different backgrounds.	
Each of us has a mental image that is the basis of our understanding of what is community development.	
Factors that help shape that mental image are:	
Educational background	
Work experience	
Present program responsibilities	
Previous in-service training	
Mental images (the ways we define CD) are not "right" or "wrong." They just represent the diversity and complexity of the work world.	
But, unless they are very similar (or the same) from person to person, they can be barriers to communication.	
This unit examines some commonly held mental images (definitions) of community development.	

Five of the most commonly used are discussed as background to a sixth way of thinking about CD.

The sixth is an "operational definition" of CD and is suggested for use as a basis for communication in this training.

Discussion and interaction between resource persons and participants, a workshop session, and a field trip will help improve your understanding of community development.

So, let's turn to an examination of these various definitions of community development.

WHAT IS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT?

Irwin Sanders has identified four commonly used meanings for CD: (II-1)

Community development as a process

Community development as a method

Community development as a program

Community development as a movement [7; 8, p. 521; 9, pp. 18-28]

The first of these, CD as a process, will be discussed the most as it provides the general basis for all other conceptions of community development.

Among others, the Biddles [3], Bennett [2], and Littrell [5] have discussed CD as a manifestation of democracy.

And, the operational definition compiled by Gessaman provides another perspective. A resource paper is included that provides a detailed look at the operational definition.

The intent of this "many definitions" approach is to help you understand the range of mental images that people have. From these you can identify one or put together a composite that has meaning for you.

Social process

The concept of a social process is basic to understanding community development. Let's start by looking at some of the aspects of this thing we call "process."

No two persons are exactly alike.

Even persons who share many interests in common have many differences.

Thus, any community group probably has more ways in which members are different than ways in which they are the same.

Each has his/her own perception of the community situation.

Each has his/her own supply of knowledge about: (1) the community situation, and (2) all other things.

Each has his/her own set of values and beliefs.

Group solidarity makes it possible for people to work together despite these differences. It is built up through social interaction. (II-2)

Accomodations to others' points of view are developed.

Individuals' positions on issues gradually shift.

A shared image of reality is created.

Reasonable agreement on goals usually emerges.

People become acquainted and willing to work together.

The overall social phenomena that the group goes through, including all the false starts, slippages, progress, and defeats is what we lump together and call "process."

Several authors have provided insights that help "pin down" the essence of "process."

Biddle and Biddle [3, p. 79]:

> . . . Process refers to a progression of events that is planned by the participants to serve goals they progressively choose. The events point to changes in a group and in individuals that can be termed growth in social sensitivity and competence. The essence of process does not consist of any fixed succession of events . . . but the growth that occurs within individuals, within groups, and within the communities they serve. The process is one that is motivated by participant choosing.

Beal, Bohlen, and Raudabaugh [1, p. 23]:

> The fundamental belief of our American democracy is the dignity of man. As a result of such belief we have devised the group process as a means of governing our affairs. In every phase of living we find people working in groups to solve their problems.

And, also from Beal, Bohlen, and Raudabaugh [1, pp. 29-30]:

> . . . our major interest is . . . in the formal democratic group, and its major characteristics may be listed as follows:
>
> 1. The goals and objectives of such a group are established by group interaction.
> 2. The means adopted to achieve these are determined by the same process.
> 3. The interaction process is such that each member feels both freedom to contribute and responsibility for success.
> 4. Group consensus prevails, even though individuals do not completely agree, but disagreeing individuals feel free to present their point of view.
> 5. Ideas are dealt with on the basis of their value to the group rather than on a basis of who introduces them.
> 6. Those in position of formal leadership recognize that their major role is that of facilitating group process.

The important concept here is that of "process" being a social phenomena common to many groups in our society.

If a group has the characteristics identified by Beal, Bohlen, and Raudabaugh [1], its within-group interactions have a fairly predictable nature that we call "process." (II-3)

"Process" goes on everywhere and all the time throughout our society.

Many groups are involved in process in every community.

Community development as a process

Process activities that go on in a community can include some that are:

1) Community based

2) Have as goals the alleviation of community problems or concerns

We commonly call these community-based, goal-directed process activities "community development." (II-4)

And, when we talk about CD as a process we are really saying that we take explicit recognition of CD being a goal-directed social phenomenon having characteristics consistent with our understanding of "process."

Let's look at other ways people have described it:

Warren [11, p. 324]:

> Community Development. We shall define community development as a deliberate and sustained attempt to strengthen the horizontal pattern of a community. This definition conceives community development as a process.

Saunders [8, p. 521]:

> . . . change from a condition where one or two people or a small elite within or without the local community make a decision for the rest of the people to a condition where people themselves make these decisions about matters of common concern; from a state of minimum to one of maximum cooperation; from a condition where few participate to one where many participate; from a condition where all resources and specialists come from outside to one where local people make the most use of their own resources, etc.

Cary [4, pp. 1-2]:

> Essentially, community development is, 'the deliberate attempt by community people to work together to guide the future of their communities, and the development of a corresponding set of techniques for assisting community people in such a process.' (Quoted from Warren).

And then Cary again [4, p. 144]:

> Basic to the community development process is participation by the people of the community in the process. The emphasis is on common or shared interests and concerns--public issues--which grow out of individual interests and concerns.

In light of these characteristics, it also is important to distinguish between CD as a process and the various conceptualizations of group problem solving that are called "the community development process."

Note that when we talk about CD as a process, we are using process as a descriptive term to designate a particular type of social phenomena.

When we talk about *the CD process*, we are using process in another meaning--one that Kimball and Thullen identify as: "The term *process* means *a series of logical, identifiable, interrelated, and sequential steps which result in certain outcomes* " [6, pp. 118-119]. And that is a very different meaning!

The CD Process can refer to a problem-solving technique such as the scientific method. Or it can refer to any of a number of other schemas of the general approach that most community groups follow as they are involved in community development activities. (See Tweeten and Brinkman [10, pp. 256-61] for one formulation.) (II-5)

Regardless of what schema one uses, essential components of *the CD process* include:

1) Problem definition by community residents
2) Application of some systematic and analytic procedure of problem solving that leads to a group decision
3) An action phase that carries out the group decision
4) An evaluative technique that provides a basis for determining the appropriateness of the decision and/or action and typically leads back into another problem definition effort

If you compare that formulation with the social process formulation of Beal et al. you can see they are not the same.

In summary, when we speak of *community development as a process* we are recognizing that process is:

> A social phenomena of group action based on voluntary participation where group activities are determined by its members.

And, we are also recognizing that:

> These are "process" activities that are goal directed toward the alleviation of community concerns or problems.

When we talk about the community development process we are recognizing that:

1) Community groups that are successful in dealing with problems generally use a systematic analytical technique--a problem-solving process.
2) Analytic techniques of community problem solving follow a logical sequence of steps and thus can be called "process" *but in this case "process means a logically related sequence of steps*.

Thus, as we work in community development we must always be conscious of the two types of process: (II-6)

1) The social phenomena of group action called "process"

2) The problem-solving procedures usually called "process"

Both must be adequately dealt with or the CD effort has a rocky road ahead.

Community development as a method

Some agencies and individuals view CD as a method, a way of working. This means it is viewed as a means, a technique of achieving a goal established by the agency or individual. (II-7)

The tendency in such cases is to evaluate CD in terms of whether it makes possible the attainment of some end identified as important by the agency or individual.

This, of course, runs counter to the first of the major characteristics of the formal democratic group as identified by Beal, Bohlen, and Raudabaugh [1].

There are several consequences of viewing community development as a method of achieving goals set outside the community:

1) The sphere of group decision making is reduced for all participants.

2) Motivation for participation is correspondingly reduced.

3) The primary activity of the group shifts from "problem solving" to carrying out of procedures to achieve predetermined ends.

4) The "process" focus of community development is weakened.

Community development as a program

When CD is viewed as a program, the approach is that of CD as a method, but in addition to the goals being set outside the community, the quantity and nature of the outcomes is also determined outside the community. (II-8)

Emphasis is placed on one or more of these:

1) The content to be transmitted (if the agency worker is an educator)

2) The activities to be undertaken (if the agency worker is in an action agency)

3) The results that are to be achieved for the agency

Agencies often view community development as a program due to:

1) Legislative requirements

2) Governmental regulations

3) Accountability requirements [reporting systems generate quantitative (results) data]

4) Administrators' desires for a structured organization and "tidy" programs

When this happens, the primary focus of community efforts shifts to:

1) Legitimation--the local community development group is used to legitimize activities and results the agency wants--those that fit within the agency mandate.

2) Implementation--the local community group becomes the means of carrying out the agency program.

The "process" aspects generally are lost as emphasis is placed on generating output consistent with agency and/or societal goals.

Before leaving the discussion of community development as a program we must note that Extension uses "program" with another meaning.

An Extension educational program is a set of related educational methods, materials, and techniques for the transmission of knowledge.

Thus, in its best or ideal form, an Extension CD program has as its intended outcome the improvement of client knowledge and skills, not the implementation of some predetermined action.

Community development as a movement

Community development as a movement carries strong normative connotations.

It is not value-free or value-neutral.

Its use is based on philosophical or idealogical tenets. (II-9)

Those who are involved tend to regard the community development approach as a cause or a crusade.

Community development efforts may be viewed as a sign of progress.

In extreme cases community development is identified as being the answer to all agency and all community problems.

Implications for agencies and workers

The sequence of conceptions of CD presented above also has been described in other terminology. For example:

1) Client orientation (the process conception)
   vs.
   Agency orientation (the program conception)

2) Problem orientation (process)
   vs.
   Program orientation (just what it is called)

Or, in a similar, but not identical, type of comparison

De-centralization of decision making (process)
vs.
Centralized decision making (program)

What does all this mean for you?

Obviously, your ability to orient your work to one of these conceptions depends on:

1) Your agency and its orientation
2) Your job and responsibilities
3) Your personal preferences for working with people

For example, if your job is making loans in accordance with procedures set by regulations, you can't change or violate the procedures (program).

But, if you want, you can be a participant in the process by helping the community understand the potentials and constraints of your agency program (it is a resource to the community) and how that resource might be used.

Or, if you have leeway to determine how your agency's services are to be delivered you can:

1) Deliver them in ways that support local process-oriented groups (time, place, manner of delivery arranged to suit their needs)

2) Develop skills so you can stimulate and assist local process activities.

3) Provide linkages to other agency resources that CD groups need.

Now, for a word of caution. (II-10)

Regardless of where you start in CD, there is a tendency for your approach to "drift" from CD as a process, to CD as a program to CD as a method.

It's a natural reaction based on the need to keep one's job manageable.

For example, if you are involved in facilitating process-oriented groups, the demands on your time will be very large.

One solution that makes your job manageable is to make your CD effort a "program."

Then the clients have to adjust to your program needs rather than your accomodating them, and the time required of you will be much less.

Or, if supervisors want quantitative measures of productivity, the process approach must be transformed into a program approach to produce the appropriate data.

And, so it goes, if you let it.

There is no known solution except to be aware that only you can prevent the "drift."

And, you are the only one who can decide that it is worth the extra effort that it takes to be process oriented.

Community development as a manifestation of democracy

We will note only a few ideas relating to this conceptualization:

1) It is very close to the community development as a process conceptualization.

2) Those who have emphasized the democratic values that lie behind CD as a process (Biddle and Biddle [3, pp. 2-3], Bennett [2, p. 10], Littrell [5, pp. 4-5]) have emphasized that community development is consistent with generally accepted democratic values and beliefs.

3) The overall conceptualization identifies CD as democracy in action at the local level.

This is a conceptualization that most people can easily understand and identify with.

Thus, it may be useful as a means of communication with your clientele.

An operational definition of community development

We have talked about community development in a variety of formulations.

Now, let's look at what this means in operational terms--How might we recognize a community development program if we saw one in operation?

This operational definition is intended to help answer that question.

We'll build up an operational definition using a series of components that help identify community development.

These components characterize the process conception of community development which is often looked upon as the ideal model.

We'll start with the formal democratic group as the basic client unit (as described above, Beal, Bohlen, Raudabaugh [1]).

Two dominant characteristics of the formal democratic group are: (II-11)

1) Entry to the group is open to those who desire to have a part in the activities of the group.
2) The group's activities and actions reflect the preferences of those who choose to participate.

If this group is involved in community development, it will be locality-oriented with the relevant locality determined by the territory effected by the problem, issue or concern the group is working on. (For example, a community improvement council or a neighborhood association.)

It will be action-oriented as its members are involved because they want to do something or prevent something from being done.

They may want to improve a park or build a school.

The decision-making unit will be the group (e.g., "The Community Improvement Association voted to go on record as supporting the summer recreation program proposed by . . .").

In many cases, the group decisions will be binding on those who disagree as well as those who agree.

Thus, the first four definitional components are:

1) The group is a formal democratic group. (II-12)
2) The group is locality-oriented.
3) The group is action-oriented.
4) The decision-making unit is the group.

The next group of definitional components is derived from the types of assistance that agencies can provide for these groups.

This assistance can be divided into two "bundles." (II-13)

The first "bundle" is needed by all CD groups as they are involved in their CD efforts and includes:

1) Understanding and use of the group decision-making process. (II-14)
2) Leadership development assistance that enables present and future leaders to function effectively.
3) Group process skills that enable group members to be effective participants in group activity.
4) Organization development and maintenance skills that make the group strong and effective over time.

The second "bundle" consists of information, resources, and special skills needed by the group in order to be effective in dealing with whatever problem issue or concern it is working on. Examples include: (II-15)

1) Information about local conditions
2) Information about available and potentially available resources (including agency programs)
3) Alternatives, their likely costs, and expected consequences
4) Skills, techniques, and linkages needed to make possible effective group action in the particular context of their activities and local situation

Note that these "bundles" are heavily weighted to education, but most topics are not the types of education that are formally taught in classes.

Thus, any agency person with appropriate know-how can have a part of the action.

Also, in the typical situation, the delivery of this agency assistance must occur at times and places that the CD group can accomodate and through persons acceptable to the group.

Before going on to the third set of components, let's look at some related aspects of agency assistance to CD groups.

Agency work in community development is interactive with other agency activities.

Group decisions by local CD groups set the context within which individual decisions are made and both types of desisions affect and are affected by agencies.

Agency activities with individuals provide resources for CD efforts as they add to the total pool of resources that can be brought to bear on community problems.

Agency efforts with CD groups can help individuals by improving the "arena" within which they operate.

The well-being of clients depends on both individual and group decisions being adequate and appropriate.

When we work in community development we are helping local groups maintain the balance between individual and group decisions that they think is needed.

The third and last set of components in this operational definition is organizational.

An agency involved in support of CD efforts must make a number of organizational commitments. Thus, these components "define" the existence of an agency effort in community development. These include: (II-16)

1) Administrative commitment that the agency will be involved in activities supportive of CD
2) Visible administrative leadership and support of those who assume responsibility for CD activities
3) Inter- and intra-agency linkages that make possible mobilization of resources needed by clients
4) In-service training to develop staff skills in assisting CD groups
5) A delivery system that provides continuing contact with client CD groups
6) Modification of the agency incentive system to encourage field worker participation in support of community development

Obviously, almost no situation or agency will possess all the 18 components that have been described so far.

But, most of them must be there if the agency and the clients are to be effectively involved in CD. Thus, in an operational sense, they define CD.

Role conflict

Unfortunately, relatively few agencies have recognized the need for all the organizational components described above.

The result is role conflict for the field worker who is interested in community development.

Supervisor and (sometimes) client expectations are for conduct other than that needed if the worker is to be involved in support of local CD efforts.

When this happens, the agency worker is caught in the middle--this is role conflict. (II-17)

Ultimately each person has to make an adjustment in response to role conflict.

The typical approach of the person who is interested in community development is to do enough conventional work to satisfy superiors.

And, to be involved in CD to the extent that it is feasible to do so.

This generates stress on the individual.

Also, it creates pressure for your orientation to shift from supporting CD as a process to having a nice comfortable well-packaged CD program.

The typical response of the person who isn't interested in CD is to opt out with words like:

1) My other programs take all my time.

2) The "boss" says I should concentrate on . . .

3) I'd sure like to be involved in CD, but it's against regulations to do so.

It would be nice to have an easy solution to suggest, but none is available.

Eventually each person has to find a way of dealing with role conflict.

Part of the way to deal with it is to know why you are involved.

And, that's why Unit III is entitled, "Why Be Involved in Community Development?"

Unit II - Workshop Guide

This workshop guide is intended to assist you in identifying the ways in which the subject matter covered in this unit is applicable to your work situation. Please follow these procedures:

1. Divide into groups of two or three persons. Within each group discuss the Part I questions until each has described aspects of his/her individual work situation that relate to the questions. Record information, ideas, or concepts related to your work situation that you feel are of importance to local CD efforts.

2. Within your regular small group discuss the Part II questions and record the conclusions you reach.

Part I

1. Can you identify one or more groups in your geographic area of responsibility that are engaged in activities that you would call community development?

____

____

____

2. If such groups do exist, who is involved and what are they doing?

Those Involved	Activities

3. Are there problems or concerns in your geographic area of responsibility that might be dealt with through the activities of a CD group?

_____ yes _____ no

If yes, what are they? ______________________________

____

____

4. If there are agencies working with community development groups in your geographic area of responsibility, what is your perception of their approach to CD? Do they view it as a process, a method, or a program? (Identify by agency if possible.)

Agency	Approach

Part II

1. In the resource materials it is stated that there is a constant tendency for an agency's CD effort to "drift" toward being a program or a movement regardless of any process orientation it starts with.

   a. Do you think this is true? ____________________

   b. Do you think it can be prevented? ____________________

   c. How would you prevent it if it can be prevented? ____________________

2. Which do you think is most important in determining the extent of your agency's involvement in CD: Administrative attitudes or the interests and skills of field workers such as yourself? What are the reasons for your answer?

Framework for Analysis of CD Efforts

This worksheet is intended for your use in analyzing CD efforts observed as a part of your field trip experience. It provides a means of systematically accumulating knowledge about the community. Some parts can be completed using information from the pre-briefing. Some can be completed during the field trip. Others will require information that probably will be available only during the debriefing session when ideas, impressions and experiences are shared. Careful study of these pages prior to the field trip can ensure that needed items of information are not accidently missed.

In the course of your field trip you probably will hear about and see several physical projects that your host community is working on or has completed. Presentations for visitors usually stress such projects. Although these physical projects are of interest--especially in cases where they utilized resources from agency programs--the process activities that resulted in these projects are of much greater importance to the content of this training effort. This form is intended to provide a framework for analysis of the things you hear about and observe.

It may be useful to take the form with you on the field trip and record information as opportunity presents itself, and you may identify additional aspects of the CD activity that you wish to record. Space is left at the end of the form for that purpose.

1. What is the name of the community? ______________________________

2. Is it:

_____ A municipality _____ A municipality & surrounding countryside

_____ A county _____ More than 1 municipality & surroundings

_____ Other, describe ______________________________________

3. Is the community co-terminous with a minor civil division (municipality, township, school district, county, special district, etc.)?

_____ yes _____ no

If yes, its name is ______________________________

4. (If you are learning about more than one CD effort) Are there different communities associated with the various CD efforts you are learning about?

_____ yes _____ no

If yes, make notes of some of the CD efforts here and then continue your analysis of a problem and community you prefer (typically the one described in questions 1-3).

5. Are agency personnel involved in the CD effort?

_____ yes _____ no

If yes, note the agency(ies) below, classifying each by type of involvement.

Type of Involvement in CD	Agency(ies) With This Type of Involvement
As participants in the decision-making group.	
In an advisory capacity only.	
As behind-the-scenes resource persons.	
As persons who can provide resources the community needs.	
As facilitators, enablers, expeditors, organizers, etc.	
As persons seeking approval of an agency program.	
Other:	

6. When and how was the effort to cope with community problems started?

____

____

7. Who was involved at that time?

Residents (non-agency)	Agency personnel

8. What do those involved view as their most important accomplishment?

____

____

Where did the idea for that activity originate?

____

____

Were plans for that activity modified as they were developed?

_____yes _____no

If yes, why were they modified and by whom?

____

____

____

____

9. What do those involved view as their most important failure?

____

____

Where did the idea for that activity originate?

____

____

Were plans for that activity modified as they were developed?

_____ yes _____ no

Why and by whom was modification (or the decision not to modify) under-- taken?

____

____

10. As you perceive the situation, is leadership concentrated in the hands of a few persons or spread throughout the group involved in CD?

____

11. Is community leadership specialized with different groups of leaders taking responsibility for specific types of concerns?

_____ yes _____ no

If neither "yes" or "no" is correct, try to identify the types of issues on which leadership is specialized and those where it is not.

____

____

If yes, can you tell who does what? _____ yes _____ no _____ only partly

12. Does the group have one or more concerns it is working on now?

_____ yes _____ no

If yes, what are they? ____________________________________

____

____

____

13. What overall impressions have you gained about the CD efforts you have observed or heard about today? (Check responses you feel are appropriate.)

A. Those actively participating in the decision-making group are:

_____Enthusiastic and increasingly supportive

_____Maintaining enthusiasm for participating

_____Becoming less enthusiastic

_____Apathetic

_____Frustrated

_____Other ________________________________

B. Those who are leaders in the decision-making group are:

_____Enthusiastic

_____Less than enthusiastic

_____Respected and supported

_____Given limited support

_____Tolerated

_____Opposed

_____Other ________________________________

Does this apply to all leaders, or only to a selected few? ___All ___Few

C. The population in general appears to:

_____Know about and support the CD group

_____Know about and tolerate the CD group

_____Know about and oppose the CD group

_____Not know about the CD group

_____Know about and support CD efforts

_____Know about and tolerate CD efforts

_____Know about and oppose CD efforts

_____Not know about CD efforts

D. Agency field workers in the community appear to:

_____Know about and support the CD group

_____Know about and tolerate the CD group

_____Know about and oppose the CD group

_____Not know about the CD group

_____Know about and support CD efforts

_____Know about and tolerate CD efforts

_____Know about and oppose CD efforts

_____Not know about the CD efforts

E. My prediction of the future of CD efforts in this community is:

_____They will increase and improve in effectiveness

_____They will remain about as is the situation now

_____They will decline and possibly stop

_____Other ____

F. The three most important reasons for that prediction are:

a. ____

____

b. ____

____

c. ____

____

My additional comments are:

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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT:

AS A PROCESS

AS A METHOD

AS A PROGRAM

AS A MOVEMENT

GROUP SOLIDARITY IS THE
BASIS OF SHARED EFFORT

GROUP SOLIDARITY IS BASED
ON SOCIAL INTERACTION

PROCESS IS A SPECIAL TYPE OF SOCIAL INTERACTION THAT RESULTS IN:

- ACCOMODATION TO OTHERS
- SHIFTS IN POSITIONS ON ISSUES
- SHARED IMAGE OF REALITY
- AGREEMENT ON GOALS
- WILLINGNESS TO WORK TOGETHER

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AS A PROCESS IS:

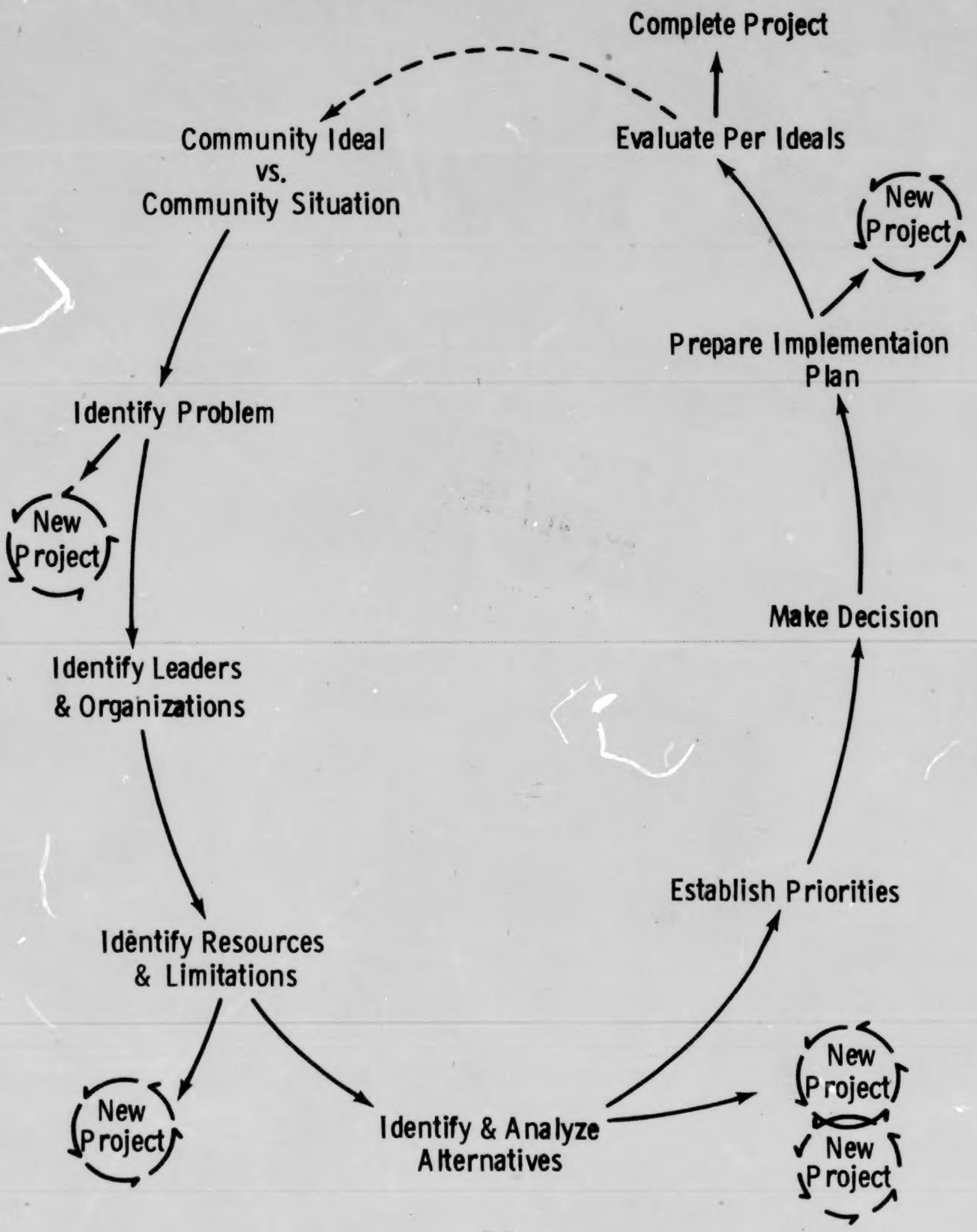
A COMMUNITY-BASED SOCIAL PROCESS

A GOAL-DIRECTED SOCIAL PROCESS

ITS DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTIC IS:

THE TYPE OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROCESS FOR A PROJECT


Complete Project
Community Ideal
vs.
Community Situation
Evaluate Per Ideals
New Project
Prepare Implementaion Plan
Identify Problem
New Project
Make Decision
Identify Leaders & Organizations
Establish Priorities
Identify Resources & Limitations
New Project
New Project
Identify & Analyze Alternatives
New Project
New Project

THE TWO TYPES OF PROCESS:

SOCIAL PHENOMENA OF GROUP ACTION - CD AS A PROCESS

ORDERLY PROBLEM SOLVING BY A GROUP - THE CD PROCESS

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AS A METHOD

CD IS MEANS TO ACHIEVE AN END
NOT IDENTIFIED THROUGH
GROUP PROCESS

END IS USUALLY SET BY AN
AN AGENCY OR AGENCIES

SOCIAL PROCESS IS WEAKENED

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AS A PROGRAM

GOALS (ENDS) AND OUTCOMES ARE SET OUTSIDE THE COMMUNITY

OUTCOMES ARE FOR THE AGENCY

AGENCY PLACES EMPHASIS ON:

- LEGITIMATION
- IMPLEMENTATION

CD AS A MOVEMENT

IDEALOGICAL APPROACH

CD IS THE ANSWER

YOUR APPROACH MAY "DRIFT"

PROCESS
↓
METHOD
↓
PROGRAM
↓
MOVEMENT

ONLY YOU CAN PREVENT "DRIFT"

FORMAL DEMOCRATIC GROUP

OPEN TO ENTRY ON BASIS
OF INTEREST

ACTIVITIES & ACTIONS
REFLECT MEMBERS WISHES

CD-OPERATIONAL DEFINITION

DEFINITIONAL COMPONENTS

- FORMAL DEMOCRATIC GROUP
- LOCALITY-ORIENTED
- ACTION-ORIENTED
- GROUP IS DECISION UNIT

CD-OPERATIONAL DEFINITION

ASSISTANCE COMPONENTS

"BUNDLE" #1 - ITEMS NEEDED BY ALL CD GROUPS

"BUNDLE" #2 - ITEMS SPECIFIC TO GROUP SITUATION

ITEMS IN "BUNDLE" #1

- GROUP DECISION MAKING SKILLS
- LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT
- GROUP PARTICIPATION SKILLS
- ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT & MAINTENANCE SKILLS

ITEMS IN "BUNDLE" #2

INFO ON LOCAL CONDITIONS

INFO ON AVAILABLE RESOURCES

ANALYSIS OF ALTERNATIVES

SPECIAL SKILLS, TECHNIQUES
AND LINKAGES AS NEEDED

CD - OPERATIONAL DEFINITION

ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENTS:

- ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT
- VISIBLE LEADERSHIP
- EFFECTIVE LINKAGES
- IN-SERVICE TRAINING
- DELIVERY SYSTEM
- INCENTIVES FOR THOSE IN CD

ROLE CONFLICT

AGENCY EXPECTATIONS

VS.

CLIENT EXPECTATIONS

VS.

REALITIES OF YOUR CD INVOLVEMENT

AN OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Paul H. Gessaman*

Definitions of community development (CD) have been numerous,[1] and usually have not been in close agreement. They have often seemed to directly support Warren's observation:

> There never has been any extensive degree of consensus on a conceptually rigorous definition of community development. The term is elusive, just as are the goals that community development efforts are designed to pursue [7, p. 75].

Some people find this lack of agreement a stimulant to thinking and debate. Others find it to be a barrier to communication and an obstacle to their participation in CD activities. This paper provides an operational perspective on CD by examining a series of components (or characteristics).

In the same manner that a person can be identified by describing a series of personal characteristics such as name, age, sex, height, weight, color of hair, shape of face, etc., this paper provides an identification (definition) of community development by describing a series of its characteristics. Because CD is a complex social phenomenon involving the efforts of groups of community residents, the assistance of agency workers, and the organizational capability of agencies to provide that assistance when and where it is needed, the definition draws components from the characteristics of each of these three aspects.[2] Each characteristic provides a component of the definition, and the entire set of components can be the basis of a shared mental image of CD that can provide a basis for communication and discussion. When taken as a whole, this set of components provides an operational definition of CD.

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[1] For examples see [2, p. 1; 3, p. 7; 4, pp. 4-12; 5, pp. 407-8; 6, pp. 18-31; 8, p. 324; and 9, pp. 5-6].

The Operational Definition

Every definition must have its starting point, and this one is not an exception to that general rule. In this case, the starting point is the presumption that persons involved in CD are members of, and identify with, one or more decision making groups.[3] Members of these groups may share many attributes in common, or they may share only one attribute --membership in the group. Regardless of the number of shared attributes, the group is the primary decision making unit of CD efforts.

Clientele characteristics

The characteristics of the clientele decision making group provide the first components of the operational definition. In its "ideal" form this group has the characteristics of a formal democratic group as described in Beal, Bohlen, and Raudabaugh:

1. The goals and objectives of such a group are established by group interaction.
2. The means adopted to achieve these are determined by the same process.
3. The interaction process is such that each member feels both freedom to contribute and responsibility for success.

---

[2] Many CD groups function for varying periods of time (sometimes for years) without direct assistance from agencies. By focusing on the definition of CD as an agency-assisted local group activity, this paper does not give specific recognition of autonomous local CD efforts. The omission is not intended as a denial of their existence. It merely represents an attempt to keep the breadth of the discussion manageable.

[3] These groups are the clientele to whom agencies provide assistance and support.

4. Group concensus prevails, even though individuals do not completely agree, but disagreeing individuals feel free to present their point of view.

5. Ideas are dealt with on the basis of their value to the group rather than on a basis of who introduces them.

6. Those in position of formal leadership recognize that their major role is that of facilitating group process [1, pp. 29-30].

Briefly stated, these "democratic" groups and their ongoing decision processes are characterized by: (1) The group decisions reflect the preferences of those who participate in the group, and (2) entry to the group, with the accompanying rights of participation in decision making, is possible for anyone who is affected by the group decision.

In the usual situation, the decision making group is locality-oriented. The boundaries of the relevant locality are dependent upon the territory affected by the issue being considered. Typically, this territory is relatively small (a neighborhood, a municipality, a rural community, a county or similar relatively small political unit), but is too large to make possible face-to-face contact between all persons involved.

This decision making group is also primarily action-oriented in that its members participate because they want to do something, or to prevent something from being done, relative to some locality-oriented issue. This implies participants are not involved in these decision making activities to obtain psychic rewards of participation but are involved to achieve ends they define as desirable.

In actual practice, agency clientele possess these characteristics to varying degrees. Decision making units may belong at almost any point on a continuum from "individual" to "group," and decision making may be a multi-step sequence where individual and group decisions are inter-mixed. The degree of locality orientation may vary from high (the boundaries of the area affected by the problem are clearly identifiable) to low (geographical considerations are of lesser importance). The action orientation may vary from high to low depending on the perceived level of urgency associated with the problem, and clientele perceptions of the probable efficacy of efforts to alleviate it. And, the clientele group may, to some degree, limit participation in decision making, thus making group activities less "democratic" than the ideal.

The interaction of these components can be visualized by constructing a set of three-dimensional axes with the decision making unit, the locality orientation, and the action orientation as continua along the axes (Figure 1).[4]

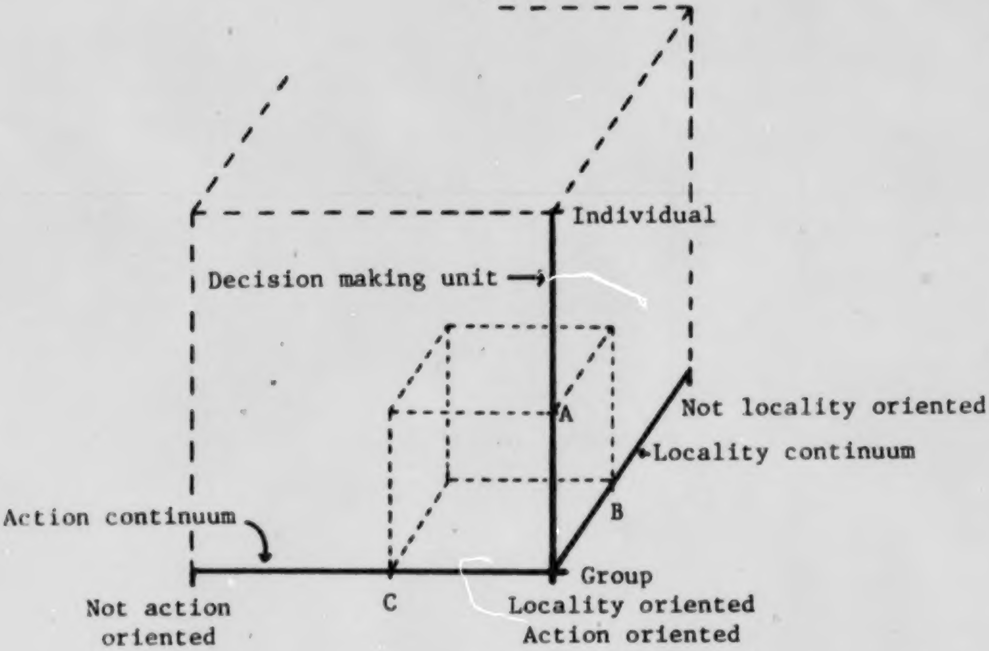
Individual
Decision making unit
A
Not locality oriented
Locality continuum
B
Action continuum
Group
Not action oriented
C
Locality oriented
Action oriented

Figure 1. Interaction of clientele characteristics partially defining CD

The larger box determined by the continua making up the axes can be thought of as the "box" of clientele of all agency programs. Those having clientele characteristics that place them at the origin are the idealized CD groups. Those with characteristics such that they belong in the ABC cube might be viewed as typical community development clientele. Others, of course, remain agency clientele. But, their characteristics make it unlikely that work with them can be considered community development. Thus, the four clientele characteristics that are components of the operational definition are: (1) democractic decision making, (2) group decision making unit, (3) locality orientation, and (4) action orientation.

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[4] This formulation assumes reasonably "democratic" decision making as an integral characteristic of CD.

Agency assistance components:

The definitional components derived from clientele characteristics make no specific mention of the types of agency assistance provided to such clientele. The nature of community development activities is such that a large proportion of the agency assistance must be specific to the time, place, and type of concern faced by the CD group. In addition, several types of assistance are needed by all CD groups.

For convenience, the resulting definitional components can be thought of as making up two "bundles." The first includes the types of assistance needed by all CD groups. The second includes the types of assistance that are situationally specific.

The first bundle. Clientele group decision making activities that are dependent upon: group participation skills of group members, the group's ability to identify goals and priorities, the group's knowledge of resources and alternatives appropriate to the problem being considered, and the group's ability to translate individual preferences into decisions. Agency assistance to improve and facilitate these client group activities can be categorized as: (1) improvement of understanding and use of the group decision making process, (2) leadership development and training, (3) improvement of group process skills, and (4) organization development and maintenance.

Each of these provides a focus for agency assistance and is a component of the operational definition. (Each also is educational in nature; delivery of the needed agency assistance will result in agency clientele having a changed state of knowledge.) This does not imply that only educators should be involved in providing assistance--it means that whomever provides assistance to clientele involved in CD needs to be prepared to meet these educational needs. The agency worker who wants clients' CD activities to prosper will provide that assistance directly or by involving others who can do so.

The second bundle. The CD group also needs situationally specific assistance that will enable it to effectively analyze and make decisions about the problem, issue, or concern it faces. This includes, but is not restricted to, providing assistance that improves client groups' knowledge and understanding of: (1) local conditions, (2) available and potentially available resources (including agency programs), (3) alternatives and their expected consequences, and (4) special skills or organizational arrangements needed to make the group's CD activities effective in their community setting.

Like the components of the first bundle, these have a high degree of educational content. But, they are not strictly educational as they involve the entire complex of economic, social, political, and organizational factors that have bearing on community projects. The primary consideration is the delivery of whatever assistance clients need to successfully carry out their CD activities. There is a built-in incentive for providing that assistance. Its successful delivery can improve the acceptability of all agency efforts.

Organizational components

The ability of an agency worker to successfully provide assistance to clientele groups involved in CD activities depends upon organizational arrangements within the agency. If agency personnel are to be effectively involved in assisting CD groups, a number of organizational commitments are required. These provide the final group of components of the operational definition as they make possible the existence of agency support for clientele CD activities.

Agencies differ in the extent to which they give field workers latitude to determine the extent and nature of their job activities. Some workers are in relatively unstructured situations with nearly complete autonomy to determine their job activities. At the opposite extreme are those whose range of work conditions and activities is closely prescribed and clearly spelled out. Regardless of the range of choice given the individual worker, agency structure often does not support worker involvement in providing assistance to CD groups. Reasons for this situation include: (1) Agency emphasis on tangible measures of output provides strong incentives for concentration of work effort on programs having quantifiable and measurable output (Measuring the output from having facilitated a decision by a CD group is very difficult.). (2) Agencies usually are sensitive to criticism, and agency workers are encouraged to avoid involvement with clientele in controversial or conflict situations (Most community decisions that are worth the efforts of a CD group have both supporters and opponents.). (3) Agencies with local advisory groups rely on those groups for political support, and that support is based on the agency responding to their vested interests (CD efforts usually involve a wide range of persons in the community and, if successful, alter the pattern of vested interests.). (4) Agency workers consider themselves to be full-time employed without providing assistance to CD groups. Adding CD requires alteration of work patterns and often is viewed as resulting in heavier work loads (Agency employees may resist changing emphasis of work effort and "hold back" those who want to become involved in assisting CD groups.). (5) Work skills needed for successfully assisting CD groups are somewhat different from skills required for traditional agency programs (Success in delivering traditional agency programs does not necessarily mean the worker has the skills needed for assisting CD efforts.).

The organizational commitments that are needed to offset these effects of agency structure include: (1) A commitment to assisting the community development efforts of clientele groups that creates throughout the agency the expectation that such assistance will be provided when and where it is needed. (2) Commitment of administrative leadership and support of those who assume responsibility for assisting CD efforts. (3) Involvement of the agency in linkages with other agencies that make possible the recruitment of resources needed by clientele groups. (4) Continuing in-service training to develop agency worker skills in assisting CD groups. (5) Job assignments for workers that make possible continuing contact with groups involved in CD. And, (6) Modification of the agency incentive system so those who successfully assist CD groups will be rewarded in the same manner as those who are successful in other areas.

Not all agencies will be able to make these commitments at any one time, and some may never find it possible to do so. This should not be taken as evidence that the commitments are not needed. The realities of the world are that many apparently desirable changes in agencies and work situations are not attainable in the short run. Despite this condition, the operational definition given here can provide a basis for an internally consistent mental image of CD.

From the agency worker's point of view, providing assistance to CD efforts involves work with democratic decision making groups that are both locality oriented and action oriented. The assistance provided is of two types: Assistance that enables any group of persons to function more effectively as a democratic decision making group and assistance that enables a specific group in a specific situation to make a better decision about their problem. If the agency worker is to provide the needed assistance in ways that are consistent with group needs, the employing agency must be committed to making workers' CD efforts both possible and rewarded. To the extent that a shared image of CD improves communication and understanding, the study of this definition should help agency workers get on with the job.

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Unit III: Why Be Involved In Community Development?

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Overview of Unit III

In this unit several approaches are used to help the participants develop an understanding of the need for CD and for a personal philosophy that supports involvement in CD. The first part of the unit focuses on various perspectives of the need for CD. The second part provides a basis for a more complete understanding of societal changes that are in the background of CD. Workshop exercises provide a means for participants to localize these ideas to their client community situations.

A restatement of the bases for agency involvement in CD efforts provides the background for an examination of policies and practices related to agency involvement in supplying assistance to CD efforts (the panel or field trip). Wide-ranging discussion of the impacts of agency policies and practices on work situations of individuals is intended as a stimulus to analysis of participant work situations.

A review session and a workshop exercise are intended to stimulate consideration of alternative professional roles in CD, the limitations of CD, and the overall reasons for being involved in CD.

Bases for Unit III

The content of this unit is based on a general understanding of the American social-economic-political system and of CD that includes:

- Our governmental system operates through a combination of delegation of authority from federal to state to local, and legislative, administrative and judicial responses to problems articulated at each of these levels.
- The changing activities and roles of governmental agencies have been both an effect and a cause of societal changes - thus, for those who have interest in CD, it helps to understand societal changes as interacting with agency programs.

- Most problem alleviation activities of government are carried out through the actions of agencies operating within sets of regulations that are applied to all local situations.
- Differences in local conditions make most agency programs only partially appropriate to the needs of any particular locality, and additional mechanisms such as CD activities are required if local needs are to be met.
- Units of government, agencies, and economic units are responsive to CD groups and other citizen organizations with well organized goal-directed activities.
- Local community development efforts may be substantially enhanced by assistance from the personnel of governmental agencies.
- The difficulties and complexities of providing assistance to local CD groups are such that agency field workers need both personal proficiency in supplying CD assistance and personal work philosophies that support their doing so.

Objectives of Unit III

The objectives of Unit III are:

1. To improve participants' understanding of the social-economic-political context within which their work is carried on.

2. To provide insights into the ways in which local CD efforts are a mechanism through which citizens can address problems in their personal and community situations.

3. To stimulate discussion, thought, and synthesis by participants that contribute to the development of personal work philosophies supportive of providing assistance to clients' CD efforts.

Outline	Notes

PERSPECTIVES ON "WHY BE INVOLVED IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT?"

The question, "Why be involved in community development?" is frequently posed by agency personnel who are new to CD work.

And, many experienced agency workers, community leaders, and citizens raise the same questions when asked to be involved in local CD efforts.

The list of those who question CD involvement can be expanded almost indefinitely

Agency heads whose staff are fully employed and are told to expand their agencies' assistance to CD groups have asked it.

Local elected officials who see CD efforts as a threat to vested interests (or as ineffective in dealing with community problems) have asked, "Why be involved...?"

And, many a wife or husband whose spouse is away to countless community group meetings has said, "Why??"

If your job is one where you expect or want to assist local CD groups, the answer to that question, "Why be involved...?" may be one of the most important of your career.

The careers of each of us are influenced by the extent to which we know about, and believe in, the work we do.

The answer to, "Why be involved...?" is the foundation of job performance that reflects credibly on each of us.

It's also the basis of feelings of self-worth, dignity, and self-respect that makes us effective citizens and effective in assisting our CD clientele.

So, in many ways, having developed a personal answer to, "Why be involved...?" is the cornerstone of each person's career.

Having an answer that you believe (and believe in) can be of primary importance to your job effectiveness.

A few of the reasons that lie behind that statement are:

- CD is not the easiest area to work in.

- It's not the most highly rewarded in terms of salary and prestige.

- It's not the type of work that makes everyone like you.

- It's not well understood by colleagues or superiors.

Yet, it has become increasingly important in recent decades.

Each of us is involved in some way, or we wouldn't be here.

So, let's look as a number of possible responses to "Why be involved in community development?"

Some are simple and direct:

- The "Boss" assigned me to the "CD crew."

- The devil made me do it!!

Others are very abstract:

- CD fulfills a societal need.

- CD is a necessary integrative force in a community.

And, there are perspectives that lie between these extremes.

We'll try to look at a number of them in this unit. But, first let's talk for just a minute about the intent of this session.

The primary purpose is to stir your thinking about the reasons for involvement in CD - but, to do so without trying to "brainwash" you.

At the end, we hope you will have some new ideas, will have gained some new perspectives, and will have thought about your personal philosophy regarding CD.

The experience may give you a new outlook on your work.

Or, it may reinforce the outlook you already have.

Regardless, we'd like you to remember that the ideas you bring to the discussions are as important as any in the presentations.

Everything you contribute becomes a part of the pool of ideas from which we can learn.

The schedule has time for discussion and debate.

Let's use it for sharing of ideas and constructive disagreement whenever we disagree.

The idea of discussing philosophy about our involvement in CD may seem rather abstract.

But, it's not too hard to name situations where a well-thought out personal philosophy should prove very useful. For example, it should help:

- When the daily demands of our jobs push for our providing a quick, "pat" answer, and there is no such answer to give.
- When two groups in a community are each asking for professional assistance as they take exactly opposite positions on a community issue
- When our agencies would apparently benefit by one solution to a community problem while the long-run benefit to the community would be greater with another
- When it is obvious the leadership in a community has ulterior motives for accepting leadership roles
- When it appears that decision making roles are intended to be kept by a few and that a community group is being formed because of bureaucratic requirements, or for public relations purposes

You may feel that these examples reflect the philosophy and values of the person who provided them. That is true. Our choices are based on our philosophic orientation.

And, that is the whole point of this unit. All phases of our professional decision making reflect our personal philosophies about the work we do. Thus, it is important to consciously think about the "why" of our work.

A framework for looking at "Why be involved...?"

Let's start by personalizing the question. "Why am I involved in community development?"

Using this question as the basis for an exercise will help us start thinking about the content of this discussion.

Concentrate for a few minutes and then write down your most important reason(s) for being involved in community development.

Try to keep your reasons as simple as possible while retaining accuracy.

When you've completed writing, we'll list the reasons on the chalkboard.

(List at least one response from each participant on the chalkboard and discuss as seems appropriate.)

Responses from a group such as this will usually include such reasons as:

CD gives me an opportunity to really help people with their needs.

I'm involved with CD groups because I get satisfaction from helping work out solutions to complicated problems.

I was told it was something I had to do to keep my job.

I'm involved in CD because communities have so many problems, and someone has to help work out the solutions.

Community development gives me a chance to provide leadership for something that is really needed.

I see it as a way to make democracy work.

It's a way to help the less fortunate get some of the things they need.

I assist CD efforts because it's one way to get people heard who have been ignored for so long.

It is obvious there are great variations in the reasons people are involved in CD. It is also obvious that the reasons people are involved come from very different motivations and stimuli.

It seems that the answers to "Why be involved in community development?" come from different perspectives.

Let's look at some of those perspectives. (III-1)

The personal perspective on CD involvement

Let's first look at the question from what might be called the personal perspective.

To do this, we'll reword the question to "What are my inner personal reasons for being involved in community development?"

In this case we are really examining our values--our basic inner motivating forces.

Obviously, in this perspective we are concerned with:

- the results of our upbringing and our socialization
- the events of our childhood, our family beliefs and values.

Also, we are concerned with the things that occurred outside the family:

- our school experiences
- our religious training and participation
- our college or university courses
- our study and work experiences
- (possibly) our experiences in the military.

Regardless of the type and diversity of sources, our values are where we are right now.

We classify things as worth doing or not worth-doing on the basis of our values.

Thus, on the basis of values (from personal perspectives) we might identify reasons for personal involvement in assisting CD efforts in somewhat different words than we used a few minutes ago.

The wording may differ, but some typical ideas are:

- I like to help people with their problems

- I get satisfaction from helping solve complicated problems.

- I like to help people develop the capacity to help themselves.

- It's part of my responsibility to the community.

- Cooperative efforts in problem solution are the appropriate way of solving community problems.

- Because it is a way to help to make my community look good--well planned, well constructed, and well cared for.

- Because I like variety. Working in CD makes it possible to work with different people, with different groups, with different projects, and for different purposes.

- It's a way to see how the many individuals, organizations, and segments of society fit together and work together--how each contributes to the other and how they all contribute to making an effective, whole community.

These are only some of the reasons for being involved in CD from a personal perspective. Longer examination of this subject is sure to yield many other reasons.

The community perspective of CD involvement

Our discussion of personal perspectives on CD involvement provides a start for developing the community perspective.

In this case, we want to identify reasons for CD involvement from the perspective of the community.

How does CD benefit the community? Let's list some ways:

- Communitites face complicated problems and issues that may be satisfactorily solved only through CD efforts

- Minority group needs may be ignored unless they are effective participants in community development groups

- Governmental responses to community problems may only deal with the symptoms, not the root causes, unless a CD group really studies and analyzes the problems and the causal factors.

- The community may respond to agency programs rather than community needs unless it uses a CD approach

- The real pay-off from community improvement efforts comes when they are additive and not at cross purposes. CD efforts can provide that needed continuity.

- The kind of unity that is needed to make this place a real community can be strengthened through community development activities.

Again, this list could be made longer and more detailed.

But, it illustrates the point. There are benefits to the community from CD efforts.

As agency workers, when we provide appropriate assistance it can be an important reason for the success of local CD efforts.

Thus, from the community perspective, agency involvement can help ensure the viability of CD efforts and their possible benefits for the community.

"Why be involved?" Because, the CD efforts you assist can benefit the community and its citizens who are your clients.

The agency perspective on CD involvement

Many professionals are involved in providing CD assistance as a result of policy decisions contained in legislation or made by the administrators above them in the bureaucracy.

Some of these professionals may have had little preparation for CD responsibilities as a result of their educational and professional backgrounds.

They may have had limited in-service training to help them meet the demands of job assignments with a CD component.

Thus, they find they are responsible for providing CD assistance because their agency had decreed they should do so, not because of their training or interests.

Other professionals have become involved through being hired or assigned in positions where they are expected to mobilize and make operational an agency CD program.

Sometimes their backgrounds equip them for this work. Others may acquire the responsibility by decree without regard to training or interests.

Regardless of the route by which these agency professionals have become responsible for CD program delivery, it is important for them to recognize the reasons for agency involvement in CD.

Instead of reasons, the agency may merely state it's expectations. A notice comes out that means something like this:

- Each reporting unit is expected to report ___ percent of its effort has been used to supply assistance to local CD groups.

The wording will vary (you can substitute your agency's terminology), but the meaning will be about the same.

Or, you may find that your agency head has been quoted in a news release as saying:

______ (my agency) is involved in assisting CD efforts in _____ (state) communities because it is our policy for all units to be sure that citizens are involved in planning our program delivery in ways that will meet their needs.

Or, you may be told in agency meetings that the agency needs CD involvement to:

- Secure political support
- Secure guidance for long-run program direction
- Carry out legislative mandates

You may be able to identify other reasons.

The important points about the agency perspective on CD involvement are these:

1. Where there are legislative mandates for citizen participation in agency program design or delivery, agency involvement in CD is a part of the program - it is required in the same sense as any other part of the program.

2. When the agency involvement in CD comes about as a result of policy decisions made by administrators in the agency, the primary intent usually is

to improve the service citizens receive from the agency.

3. Regardless of the reason for the decision for CD involvement, it can occur only through the activities of persons such as yourself. The professional field worker is the person who "makes it happen" if it is going to happen.

Thus, the carrying out of the legislative intent or the policy decision depends on you.

The response that results in agency involvement may not be the easiest, but it usually is in the best interests of the citizen and taxpayer.

The societal perspective on CD involvement

The discussion of this perspective will be in very sweeping terms.

Since we are not philosophers it will be quite superficial.

But, we think it will help each person to understand his/her job and personal responsibility for CD involvement if that involvement can be seen from the context of a societal perspective.

From the societal perspective community development is:

- A means by which the individual (and groups of individuals) can influence the larger societal system in ways that meet the needs of the individual (or group of individuals).

- An activity through which individuals can be effective in determining the nature and quality of their communities.

- A mechanism by which governmental programs that operate within uniform sets of guidelines can be "adjusted" to fit the needs of a particular locality or community.

- A method of decision making that provides opportunity for those who are affected by a community decision to participate in that decision in ways that are consistent with our democratic values.

- A grass-roots way by which people can influence government at all levels.

- One of the ways in which accountability in the use of tax moneys can be monitored and improved.

- Others that you may be able to identify.

Overall, from the societal perspective, CD is one of a large number of social mechanisms used by members of the society as they seek to make the society appropriate and responsive to their needs.

Those of us who are involved in this training have responsibilities that include providing assistance to local CD efforts.

To the extent that we can view our job responsibilities in the context of personal, community, agency, and societal perspectives, we can add to our understanding of the "why" of CD involvement.

- But, this isn't the whole story. Another part comes from the changing nature of our society.

We'll look at societal changes in the next session.

SOCIETAL CHANGES AND THE NEED FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Almost everyone has been sensitized to the rapid change that is occurring throughout the world.

Among the "best sellers" there is nearly always a book on changing conditions in our society.

Magazines have articles on many aspects of change and dwell on everything from changing social behavior to technological change.

Newspapers reflect the people's concerns over the ways the present differs from the past. They also reflect continuing anxiety over anticipated future situations.

There are many views of the nature and importance of change. Alvin Toffler has presented one widely read view in his book, Future Shock [3].

Other books and the many futurist magazines attest to people's interest in the processes and consequences of change.

For our consideration of "Why be involved in community development?" a sociological perspective on change is particularly valuable.

Roland Warren has been particularly helpful to those with involvement in CD through his writings on the impacts of change on American communities. (See for example [3] and chapters 3, 11 and 12 of [6]).

Most of this discussion will be derived from his paper, "The Great Change" which is included as a resource paper in this unit [4]. Some additional perspectives are taken from Warren's "The Good Community" [5] and Barlowe's "Growth and Development" [1].

Using Warren's approach, let's start by examining some things most consider to be on the brighter side of change:

- Steadily growing technology makes possible more efficient work
- People generally have better health and longer lives
- There is less fear of dependence on others
- There is greater access to nature's bounty
- We have increased concerns for human rights and opportunities

What additional benefits of change can you identify?

Let's list some on the chalkboard.

(Compile a list from participant suggestions.)

A look at the changes that are generally considered undesirable or less desirable will also be useful in thinking about "The Great Change."

Most people decry such things as:

- Increased crime rates
- Drug abuse
- The energy crunch
- Increased government spending

- The problems of the inner city

- The absorption of locally owned business and industry into absentee corporations

What additional problems can you identify?

(Compile a list from participant suggestions)

In their attempts to deal with our changing American society, people have done many things. They:

- Agitate
- Legislate
- Set up control boards and regulating commissions
- Provide state and federal funding
- Develop planning units and master plans
- Bring people together
- Organize the public
- Bring expertise to bear
- Engage in community development
- And, so forth.

But our efforts--our activities toward decreasing negative societal changes and toward influencing the future course of such events--have two important aspects:

1) They tend to be responsive to changes which have already taken place.

2) The things we do--the units we create--the activities we undertake--the responses to yesterday's problems, frequently become parts of the problems we have to deal with today and tomorrow.

Because "The Great Change" is complex, and because it continues right in our own communities, let's take a closer look at Warren's ideas.

He has capsulated "The Great Change" into seven aspects: (III-2)

1) The increasing division of labor.

- More groups of people earn their living doing different things.

- Functions one person performed in the past are now broken down into specialized, fragmented jobs.

- Production is increased exponentially rather than decreased.

- Specialization of work underlies community make-up and activities--both vocationally and avocationally.

2) The trend toward greater diversity of interests and associations.

- The division of labor (above) splinters people into divergent interests and interest groups. People associate with work colleagues regardless of where they live.

- Even in very small communities, people have diverse sets of interests and little emotional investments in their local communities.

3) Local units in the community tend to become increasingly tied to organizations and systems outside the local community.

- Both the number and the strength of ties between local units and outside units has increased.

- Ties to the outside are increasingly strong and widespread in:

- Governmental units
- Branch banks
- Branch plants
- Businesses with headquarters elsewhere
- Voluntary association affiliated with state and national groups and organizations
- Food-store chains
- National gasoline and fuel companies
- National unions
- National mass media affiliations for T.V., radio, and newspapers

Think of your personal work situation and life. How strong are your ties to outside entities?

4) The trend is toward impersonal bureaucracies.

- Standardization of routines.
- Depersonalization of procedures.
- Pressuring individuals to act like parts of a machine.
- Less contact with people we know.
- Requirements that everyone be treated the same.

5) Gradual transfer of functions out of the home and out of neighborhood groups and voluntary associations to profit enterprises and government.

- These vital functions have been affected:
- Social control
- Care of the sick
- Preparation of food
- Maintenance and repair of homes
- Care of the aged and the very young

The overall results have been:

- Family members are not so dependent on each other.
- Local neighborhood and community members are less dependent on each other.
- Both the traditional family and the traditional community have been weakened.

6) The trend to urbanization, suburbanization, and metropolitan growth.

- Suburbanization continues to transform rural areas into urban areas.
- Previously independent communities become a part of the urban complex.
- The city grows beyond its official boundaries.
- Shopping centers move out and people lose allegiance to the inner city.
- All communities--villages, small cities, and larger cities--take on aspects of the big city.
- The open country also takes on urban aspects.

7) Changing values concludes this list of long-time trends.

- Expanding governmental activities are accepted rather than "government is best which governs least" [3, p. 53].

- Gradual switch from emphasis on a moral interpretation to a scientific or casual interpretation.

- Switch from moral reform as panaceas for communities to social planning as a means of alleviating problems

- From glorifying work to values of leisure

- From self-discipline to self-indulgence

- From hard work to hard play

- From heroes of production to heroes of consumption

- From pleasure as an instrument of the devil to pleasure as everyone's birthright

And, as might be expected:

- The beginning of reaction against most of the above trends.

These are not changes that CD workers try to bring about.

They are not changes that anyone at any level deliberately seeks to bring about.

They are changes that arise out of individual actions and actions of organizations seeking their own well-being.

They are aggregate trends and are not subject to change or reversal by individuals or communities.

We usually intend that our efforts will do something about the effects of these changes -- that is, we want to mitigate or avoid the consequence of change.

Not everyone is willing to accept the changes as inevitable. There are efforts to turn them around.

- Human relations and group dynamics efforts

- Efforts by businesses to make their internal relations more flexible--to reduce control echelons--to cut across departmental boundaries

- Efforts by individuals to go back to a simpler life

- Efforts by institutions and bureaucracies to humanize their relations with clients

- And many more. What ones can you name?

In a different manifestation of reaction to "The Great Change" has brought a reemphasis on the importance of locality, as seen in federal and state governments' growing emphasis on decentralization.

- Revenue sharing

- Block grants

- Moving decision making back to regional, state and local communities

Warren identifies the almost simultaneous outbreak of ghetto revolt and youth revolt as a part of the country-wide ferment against "The Great Change:

Current emphases that are reactions to "Great Change" focus on energy, food, and the environment.

There is a strong movement for taking a more active role in determining our own lives and life-styles.

The more usual reaction to "The Great Change" is to ease the strains it causes and make adaptations to it rather than to stop it or reverse it.

Community development is one of the types of efforts to adjust to "The Great Change."

It's an attempt on the part of people to find a constructive response to problems resulting from change.

- People work together

- They consider their problems

- They work to develop some real options

- And take concerted action to improve their well-being.

This action is taken in ways that reflect the preferences of those who chose to participate.

And, the whole process is consistent with our democratic and social values.

In many ways CD is the modern counterpart of the wagon train of the Old West.

It's a means by which a relatively small group of people can protect their well-being in an apparently hostile world.

Well, what does all this mean to you and me as we work for agencies that provide assistance to CD groups?

For the most part it seems to mean that CD is one of the means by which our society attempts to cope with the problems of change.

We, and our agencies, are part of the society, and we can be a part of the problem as well as a part of attempts to solve problems.

To the extent that we assist local groups in their CD efforts, we are helping our clientele cope with the realities of living with "The Great Change."

THE LEGITIMACY OF AGENCY INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, A RESTATEMENT

Modern life is complex and seems to be increasing in complexity.

We've looked at some aspects of that complexity in this unit - especially the complexities of change.

One of our responses to this complexity has been to delegate more and more responsibility to government to do many things that no one can or will do as an individual.

One result has been large government and many agencies.

Like society, government has become a complex of units, many of which work at cross purposes. As the number of units grows and the whole bureaucratic structure become increasingly complex, it becomes especially difficult for each governmental unit to know the real needs of the population it is intended to serve.

Frequently the distance between governmental units and those actually being served is great.

One result is frustration, as government can't keep up with the rapid changes in society.

For any one agency, life is also complicated by other agencies that serve the same clients.

Agency programs interact - sometimes for the good of clients, sometimes to their dissadvantage.

Sometimes another agency's programs will result in an increased demand for your programs. Or, the opposite may be true.

These conditions argue strongly for agencies having field workers at the local level who are working with citizens to:

- Learn what citizen needs are
- View the impact of their agency's programs and services
- Assess the apparent impact of other programs and services
- Where appropriate, link programs together for maximum effectiveness over time

In an era of big government, big business, big society, it is increasingly difficult for the individual to have clout in the whole social-economic-political system.

The governments and the service units are just not responsive to "one small voice." There is increased recognition of the way to make sure that needs are really served, and that way is to have them effectively expressed by local groups.

A group of this type usually has these features:

- It is broadly representative
- It has sufficient numbers to be a visible force in the community
- Its goals and purposes are clearly identified and articulated
- It has strong leadership coupled with wide membership involvement
- Its programs are carefully designed and deal effectively with member needs

- An operational set of priorities is in use

- It has the ability to systematically move from plans to action

- It can relate to others for combined effectiveness and good public relations

Such groups help ensure that citizen needs are met.

They also provide insights that can help agencies be effective.

So, when you provide assistance to these groups, you can be a means of helping them and your agency.

It's over-simplified, but work with these organizations is what we're talking about when we discuss involvement in CD.

If you think it's worthwhile, you will make the needed effort. If you don't, you won't.

So, again, we come back to the idea that the decision to be involved in CD is up to you.

ROLES IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FOR THE PROFESSIONAL FIELD WORKER:
A REVIEW

Although there is considerable variation in the ability of individual professional field workers to provide assistance in CD (and in agency expectations in CD), there are numerous CD assistance roles that field workers can perform.

We'll begin by asking each of you to list on a piece of paper the types of assistance you have provided (at least two or three of the most important types).

Let's list them on the chalkboard.

Are there other types you can think of?

(If yes) let's list them, too.

The following list (not intended to be complete) indicates some roles and activities of professional field workers who provide assistance to CD groups.

First, let's consider the role of information provider or information disseminator.

When you work in that role, your activities include:

- Providing background information to help in understanding overall community conditions and problems

- Providing specific technical information to assist in the solution of CD problems

- Helping in the identification of other units (either private or public) which may be useful in CD efforts

- Assistance in identifying funding sources or in financing CD projects

If your work puts you in the role of a participant in the CD group, or as an intervenor), your activities might include:

- Continuous involvement in overall CD organization to

- Assistance in creating a CD organization and maintaining it -- including the identifying of potential citizen members

- Assistance in moving from CD planning to specific action

When your role is that of a motivator, in your assisting CD groups your activities might include:

- Assistance in publicizing CD activities

- Assistance in evaluating the impact of CD efforts.

Other roles include being a facilitator, an expeditor, an expert or specialist, a planner, and so forth.[1]

For each role there is a set of activities that are the means of fulfilling the roles. Part of becoming skillful in assisting CD groups is learning what role to occupy in each set of circumstances.

But, the details are beyond the scope of this unit, so we'll not go further in discussing them here.

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[1] For further information on these roles, see Community Development, Concepts, Cirriculum, Training Needs [2, pp. 5-6].

SOME LIMITATIONS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The professional field worker also needs to have an understanding of some of the major difficulties and/or limitations to CD efforts.

We will briefly identify some of those limitations here:

- Getting understanding of conditions, problems, and possibilities is usually a long, slow process.

- Citizens usually have been led to believe that little can be done and are often reluctant to get involved.

- Systematic analysis of community problems and study of alternatives is not common practice, and many groups find it to be difficult.

- Organizing is complex; organization maintenance is difficult.

- Working carefully and cautiously and slowly is often not acceptable. Quick results are frequently demanded, but may be self-defeating.

- Failures are common in CD and are often "bitter pills."

- The consequences of CD efforts may not be known and may often be different than anticipated.

- Decisions outside the community frequently have massive, surprising effects and are often difficult or impossible to influence.

- Government programs, personnel, funding, directions, and responsiveness have great variation. Therefore, continuing support is difficult.

- The leaders of successful CD efforts may let the successes be interpreted as personal achievements and springboards to power rather than as community achievements.

- Leaders and groups may choose to "rest on their laurels" instead of continuing their efforts to secure involvement and solve problems.

A SUMMARY STATEMENT OF REASONS FOR BEING INVOLVED IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Summarizing all of the content of Unit III, it appears that there are at least four good overall reasons for being involved in CD: (III-3)

- Community development provides opportunities for numerous individuals to play significant, satisfying, helping roles in needed community work.

- It provides opportunities for communities to more effectively solve community problems--sometimes those problems that could not have been solved any other way.

- It provides opportunities for agencies to increase the likelihood that services they provide will meet people's needs and in ways they can understand.

- It provides opportunities for an increased number of individuals to actively participate in making their communities and their country operate more effectively--in other words, to make American democracy work.

These appear to be good, strong defensible answers to the question "Why be involved in community development?"

An understanding and a commitment to them should help us to be significantly better CD workers.

CONCLUSION

We hope this discussion and the ideas presented in this unit help you in answering the question, "Why be involved in community development?"

You are the only person who can provide your answer to that question. And, your answer is important to your career and to your clients.

Unit III - Workship Exercise

Clientele Problems and Alleviating Programs

This workshop exercise is designed to help you better understand problems faced by the people you regularly serve (your clientele) and the programs (and services) which are designed to alleviate the problems.

Individual tasks

I. With the use of the forms provided, please individually complete the following steps:
   a. Think for a few minutes about the key problems the people you serve (your clientele) face in daily living in their communities.
   b. List the key problems you have identified in your thinking in the five spaces provided. (Hopefully you will be able to identify five key problems; but if not, identify as many as you can.)
   c. Number them in order of priority. Put a "1" in the small blank space provided in front of the problem of most significance. Put a "2" in front of the second most significant problem, etc.

Key problems of those I regularly serve (my clientele):

___ ______________________________

____

___ ______________________________

____

___ ______________________________

____

___ ______________________________

____

___ ______________________________

____

II. Now using the priorities you have developed for your clientele problems, please proceed with the following steps in Part II of these individual tasks:

a. Write the first priority problem in the space provided after "1. Problem of my clientele."

b. Identify the programs and services being applied to alleviate Problem 1 in the spaces provided.

c. Indicate the extent of the success of the current programs and services in alleviating Problem 1.

d. Identify any additional programs and services which might be applied to alleviate Problem 1.

e. Proceed with the same steps for your Priority 2 Problem, etc.

1. Problem of my clientele ______________________________

____

____

Programs and services being applied to alleviate Problem 1 ______

____

____

Success of current programs and services in alleviating Problem 1

____

____

Other programs and services which might help Problem 1 __________

____

____

2. Problem of my clientele ______________________________

____

____

Programs and services being applied to alleviate Problem 2 ______

____

____

Success of current programs and services in alleviating Problem 2

____

____

Other programs and services which might help Problem 2 __________

____

____

3. Problem of my clientele ______________________________

____

____

Programs and services being applied to alleviate Problem 3 ______

____

____

Success of current programs and services in alleviating Problem 3

____

____

Other programs and services which might help Problem 3 __________

____

____

4. Problem of my clientele ______________________________

____

____

Programs and services being applied to alleviate Problem 4 ______

____

____

Success of current programs and services in alleviating Problem 4

____

____

Other programs and services which might help Problem 4 __________

____

____

5. Problem of my clientele ______________________________

____

____

Programs and services being applied to alleviate Problem 5 ______

____

____

Success of current programs and services in alleviating Problem 5

____

____

Other programs and services which might help Problem 5 __________

____

____

Small group tasks

III. Assemble in small groups of about six people and proceed through the following small group tasks:

   a. Go around your group and have each individual share his information for Priority Problem 1.
   b. As a group, pick the first-priority problem that is most "interesting" as an example of efforts to alleviate a problem.
   c. Discuss the reasons for the success in alleviating the problem as well as additional help that might be provided for that problem.
   d. Go around your group and have each individual share his information on Problem 2 and proceed through points IIIb and IIIc above.
   e. Proceed through Problems 3, 4, and 5 as far as time permits.

Unit III - Workshop Exercise
"The Great Change"

In this exercise you will have opportunity to examine the ways in which "The Great Change" has had impact on the general community with which you have the greatest familiarity and knowledge.

Please make a decision as to which of the following communities in your life you will focus upon:

_____ My home and work community which are the same
_____ My home community which is not the same as my work community
_____ My work community which is not the same as my home community

Individual tasks

A. For the community you have selected, identify those five aspects of "The Great Change" that you feel have had the greatest impact and list them on the lines below:

1. ____

2. ____

3. ____

4. ______________________________

5. ______________________________

B. Now go back and briefly describe the ways in which these aspects of "The Great Change" have affected the well-being or happiness of members of that community. Be brief, but as complete and explicit as possible.

(PLEASE COMPLETE THIS PART OF THE EXERCISE BY _____, THEN WORK AS A GROUP FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE WORKSHOP PERIOD.)

Group tasks

Assemble in five small groups. Ask one person to serve as a recorder for the group session. The recorder should keep brief notes of the reports in order that (s)he can help the group develop a listing for item D.

C. Each person should report to the group on one aspect (s)he has listed and the ways in which it has affected the well-being or happiness of members of the community. When one person has completed his(her) report on that aspect, let the next person report on one aspect. Go on around the group until all have reported one aspect, then go around again until each person has reported all the aspects listed. Make reports brief so all persons will have a chance to make a full report.

D. Examine the aspects and impacts that have been reported and identify those that are common to several communities. Make note of those commonalities in the space below.

E. What inferences about community change in the communities represented in your group can be drawn from the insights you have pulled together in this exercise?

Unit III - Workshop Exercise

Why I'm Involved in Community Development

This exercise will provide an opportunity for each workshop participant to identify and perhaps further develop his own reasons for being involved in CD.

Individual tasks

A. Please list the most important reasons for your being involved in CD under each of the headings below.

1. My reasons for being involved in CD from a personal perspective:

2. My reasons for being involved in CD from a community perspective:

3. My reasons for being involved in CD from an agency perspective:

4. My reasons for being involved in CD from a societal or national perspective:

Group tasks

Assemble in five small groups. Select a recorder who should keep brief notes on the discussion for sharing with the total group.

B. Have each small group member share his reasons for being involved in CD from a personal perspective. Discuss similarities and differences.

C. Proceed in the same way with each of the other perspectives.

D. Discuss reasons for the similarities and differences in the reasons for being involved in CD from each of the perspectives.

Total group tasks

Reassemble as a total group and have each recorder share the salient features of the discussion with the total group of participants.

A discussion of the similarities and differences among the groups and of the implications of the overall results of the exercise is recommended as a final step.

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Suggested Additional Readings[4]

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12. Tweeten, Luther, and Brinkman, George L. *Micropolitan Development*. Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1976.

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WHY BE INVOLVED IN C.D. ?

FROM A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE

FROM A COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVE

FROM AN AGENCY PERSPECTIVE

FROM A SOCIETAL PERSPECTIVE

SEVEN ASPECTS OF "THE GREAT CHANGE"

1 DIVISION OF LABOR

2 DIVERSITY OF INTERESTS AND ASSOCIATIONS

3 EXTRA-COMMUNITY TIES

4 IMPERSONAL BUREAUCRACIES

5 TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS TO PROFIT ENTERPRISE AND GOVERNMENT

6 URBANIZATION AND SUBURBANIZATION

7 CHANGING VALUES

SUMMARY OF REASONS FOR BEING INVOLVED IN C.D.

IMPORTANT INDIVIDUAL HELPING ROLES

BETTER SOLUTIONS TO
COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

AGENCY SERVICES TAILORED
TO PEOPLES NEEDS

INCREASING PARTICIPATION
IN DEMOCRACY

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT[*]

Raleigh Barlowe[**]

Growth and development--few concepts have been equated more with economic and social progress or with individual and community betterment than these. For most of the past two or three centuries, we have looked to growth and development for the answers to many of our problems. Growth has brought us new opportunities, a bounty of material wealth, relative affluence for most of our citizenry, and a very different world than that of our forbearers. But it has also brought new frustrations and problems. As Robert L. Heilbroner has perceived:[1]

> The lesson of the past may then only confirm. . . that man does not live by bread alone. Affluence does not buy morale, a sense of community, even a quiescent conformity. Instead, it may only permit larger numbers of people to express their existential unhappiness because they are no longer crushed by the burdens of the economic struggle.

Today, we are questioning the desirability and worth of continued growth and development more than ever before. Some thoughtful observers now argue that we have already pushed the growth process too far, that we should bring our plans for new developments to a grinding halt, and that we should adopt the conditions of a "steady state." The obvious conflict between this proposed action and the concepts we have adhered to in the past provide the basis for this paper.

An attempt will be made in the pages that follow to provide some historical, economic, and social perspective on the concepts of growth and development and to highlight some of their impacts on the well-being of our present communities. Emphasis will be given to three aspects of growth and development: (1) growth as a national goal, (2) the consequences of emphasis on growth, and (3) some issues associated with the impacts of growth on rural communities. As a prelude to these discussions, a short digression is needed to explain a secondary theme that will reoccur from time to time throughout the paper. This concerns what the writer envisages as an emerging second transformation in our modern economic order.

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[*] Paper presented at Short Course for Intensive Training for Non-Metropolitan Development, University of Nebraska, May 1, 1975; Michigan State University, September 25, 1975, and published in conference proceedings (available from Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Nebraska-Lincoln).

[**] Professor Land Economics, Michigan State University.

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A Second Transformation

Economic historians have assembled considerable information on man's economic behavior and institutions over the long span of recorded history. In terms of present day applications in this country, however, we need not push our sights back past the peak of feudalism in Western Europe. Feudalism reached its heyday in England around the year 1200. At that point, with some minor exceptions, the English economic order can be pictured as a royal pyramid. The king, who ruled by "divine right," stood at the top of the pyramid. As part of his divine right, he was the owner of all the land and other property of the realm. The term "real estate," which meant royal property, has come down to us as a reminder of this earlier situation.

Kings used their control over property rights as a means of securing allegiance and support. They ordinarily retained full rights of ownership to the lands and revenues of numerous manors and villages and vested their noblemen and military supporters with supervisory rights in the remaining lands. These individuals enjoyed a type of ownership subject to the royal pleasure. Families, through many years of loyal support to the crown, sometimes established hereditary titles to large estates. But those who incurred the royal wrath were often stripped of their lands and sometimes their heads.

Feudalism can be envisaged as a system of hierarchial controls. Serfs and workers enjoyed rights subject to the overlordship of others. These lords often enjoyed their position subject to the approval of dukes or barons to whom they owed allegiance; and these noblemen in turn, owed direct allegiance to the king. The system was such that everyone's economic, social, and political status was directly related to the rights they held in land. Overall, the system provided a good means for maintaining allegiance. But it provided little incentive for economic innovations or development.

A first great transformation in our modern economic order came with the gradual breakdown of feudalism. As the exclusive overlord right of kings was curbed and as the rights of individuals in property became more secure, individuals began to seize the initiative for using economic and technological developments as a means of getting ahead. Some of the first major economic advances in England came with the expanding activities of merchants who found themselves less confined by the tenure institutions than land owners. Recognition of fee simple ownership rights prompted many land owners to send their surplus workers off to the cities as they enclosed their fields and shifted to wool production. Industrial developments also followed as a part of this transformation.

Laissez faire, the industrial revolution, and the rise of business can all be related to the breakdown of feudalism and the substitution of a system of private ownership for control by the crown. Maximization of self-interests was substituted for allegiance to the lord as the guideline for individual economic behavior. This shift in emphasis has been nowhere more manifest than in the policies we have accepted in developing the resources of the United States. Over time we have asked government to provide new services and to play a stronger regulatory role than it once did; but, even with these modifications, we have tended to accept the concepts of private ownership and laissez faire along with the desirability of growth and development as basic elements of our capitalistic system.

Karl Marx criticized capitalism a century ago because of its tendency to concentrate economic power in the hands of individuals who used this power to advance their own positions through the exploitation of others. His logic prompted him to predict a chain of events that would end in a revolution of the proletariate. Two major factors have prevented this scenario from operating. New technological developments have increased worker productivity so much that it has been possible for both employers and workers to achieve relative affluence; and governments have imposed numerous regulations that limit the ways in which capitalism can work.

It is unlikely that we will change our capitalistic system in the near future. It is realistic, however, to note that there are new clouds on the horizon and that factors hardly dreamed of in Marx's day may have major impacts on our future economic order. The problems of overpopulation, environmental pollution, demands for finite resources, and impending shortages of energy and raw materials are all very real. Their solution almost certainly will require more public intervention into what until now has been considered as areas of private decision-making. In all probability, they will call for an enhancement of the public rights, and a concomitant dimunition of the private rights, associated with private holdings of land and other property.

Much of the literature of recent years on topics such as environmental degradation, pollution abatement, zero population growth, world food supplies, energy shortages, and land use controls suggests that we must move in the direction of accepting national and even international policies on issues such as food, population, energy consumption, and land use. Logical or not, any major movements we make in this direction will shift us towards a second great transformation that is bound to influence our economic behavior and decisions in the years ahead.

The idea of a second transformation is suggested here only as a hypothesis. We should, however, note its implications for future action. With this change, we would reconsider the distribution of rights in land now associated with fee simple ownership. People could still own land but their rights to use and develop land would be tempered by public considerations and limitations. Individuals would still be encouraged to produce sufficient goods or services to justify high levels of living, but public policies would discourage or prevent many new developments. Deliberate policies might well be used to stabilize population numbers, to maintain environmental amenities, to reduce or redirect rates of energy and raw material consumption, and to keep the economy operating at a steady state level.

Growth as a National Goal

Turning now to the basic topic of this paper, it should be noted that the ideas of growth and development have long been accepted as national goals in this country. One can read aspirations for growth and development into the motivations of most of the first settlers. Some of these came to the new world because of the personal development opportunities they associated with religious and political freedom. Many more were attracted by the promise of land ownership, an opportunity to start anew, and the prospect of better lives for them and their children.

By the time of the Revolutionary War, most of the colonists would probably have agreed that the principal things they wanted of government were defense against attack, a means of preserving order, opportunities for unrepressed trade, and freedom to settle and develop the frontier. Most people accepted a self-reliant frontier laissez faire philosophy. The days of manifold public services and public regulations of economic activity were still a long way off. No one foresaw the problems with growth and development that bother us today. Almost everyone looked forward to the settlement of their vacant lands, the populating of towns, the development of industries and trade, the provision of roads and canals, and the westward spread of settlement.

Two major indications of the widespread acceptance of growth and development are provided by the feeling of manifest destiny and the public policies that were adopted to facilitate land settlement and the growth of industry. Both of these movements are somewhat unique in the world's experience in that they display a conviction on the part of the early population that it had a mission to perform in settling and developing a huge slice of the North American continent.

Manifest destiny--a widespread feeling that it was the foreordained privilege and responsibility of the English-speaking society on the eastern coast of the present United States to develop the continent west to the Pacific--was first spelled out in the press during the early 1800s. Historians, however, date its beginnings with the start of the westward movement that followed the end of the French and Indian War in 1762.

Origins of this feeling also may be traced back to the Puritans' perception of themselves as God's chosen people.

Regardless of the origins of the doctrine, there is no doubt that the average American between 1750 and 1850 expected his society to expand westward. Daniel Boone had popular support when he defied the edict of George III in crossing the Appalachians to start the forbidden settlement of Kentucky. Thomas Jefferson raised legal questions about how he should proceed, not should he proceed, when the opportunity came to acquire the Louisiana Purchase. The explorations of Lewis and Clark and the claim they established to the Northwest Territory was greeted with popular approval. The announcement of the Monroe Doctrine raised hardly a ripple in the national press. Even the Mexican Cession, which brought us sovereignty over the territory of our six southwestern states, was accepted and applauded as a logical step in the accomplishment of our manifest mission.

Our convictions concerning the settlement and development of the continent went far beyond the establishment of claims and the acquisition of sovereignty. Settlers were anxious to move onto the new lands and Congress was just as anxious to facilitate a policy of rapid settlement. Favorable land disposal legislation was passed to enable settlers to acquire fee simple ownership to the lands they selected. A minimum of restrictions was placed on immigration. Public support was generated for a policy of public assistance in the provision of internal improvements such as roads, canals, and railroads. Tariffs and other encouragements were provided to facilitate the rise of industries.

Our concern over growth and resource development led us to cover the nation with an intricate network of railroads and highways. We constructed huge power and reclamation dams and built the Panama Canal. Sometimes we took pride even in reckless and exploitive developments such as the stripping away of forests to make room for farms, the wearing out of farmlands, and the opening of great holes in the earth to recover needed minerals. In many respects, our pursuit of growth led us to accept a "bigger, better, and richer" ethic. We were proud of our rapid economic development; we ignored the actions of our resource exploiters and tended instead to glorify them as captains of industry; we felt with Grover Cleveland that the nation had accomplished something when it became "a billion dollar government."

Growth was closely associated with progress in most of the nation's thinking. The general success of the nation's growth and development policies certainly did much for the national morale. But it had an important side-effect in causing many operators and consumers to assume that they could go on exploiting and using the nation's natural resources as though there were no tomorrow. Fortunately, we have always had some people to alert us to our emerging problems. The conservationists of the 1890s and early 1900s alerted us to the need for redirecting our forest, mineral, and water development policies. In a much more recent time, environmentalists have alerted us to the need for measures to protect the environment; authorities on energy production and consumption have alerted us to the need for new energy policies; and demographers have impressed on us the need for positive population policies.

Economic growth represented a somewhat different type of challenge 100 or 200 years ago than it does today. Our job then was that of filling up a continent and putting technology and resources to work for the betterment of man. Much of our earlier mission has now been accomplished. We have multiplied and replenished our portion of the earth. We still want to provide all of our citizenry with opportunities to enjoy high levels of living, but we see resource shortages and environmental problems ahead if we fail to modify our emphasis on growth and development.

Perhaps we are moving into a second great transformation period. Whether we are or not, it is obvious that our attitudes are changing concerning the desirability of growth as a national goal. In contrast to the Chamber of Commerce "bigger, better, and richer" ethic that is favored by many businessmen, many Americans now stress a "quality rather than quantity" goal. Recent examples of this view include Colorado's rejection of the 1976 Olympics, Oregon's discouragement of in-migration, the desire of many cities to limit future growth, and the 1972 report of the American Society of Planning Officials on Nongrowth as a Planning Alternative.

It is obvious that our goals in this country are changing. We perceive many issues differently now than we have in the past. This shift in attitudes is not something new. It is more a reflection of the dynamic nature of our society. A vivid illustration of the nature of our shifting attitudes is provided by the observations concerning prevailing attitudes at four stages in our history (1640, 1780, 1920, and 1975) reported in Table 1.

The logical question that arises from this presentation of past attitudes is: Where are we going from here? An optimistic presentation of what could happen in the future is suggested in the right-hand portion of Table 2. This alternative, however, assumes that we will use our human ability to plan and reason to make a better world. Without planning and without new national and international policies for coping with emerging problems, our future prospects are definitely darker. With this more pessimistic alternative, we can expect the troubled world pictured on the left-hand portion of Table 2. It is not a future that most of us like to contemplate. Yet the handwriting is on the wall; if we fail to adjust to our emerging challenges, we may very well find ourselves in a world that is plagued with resource shortages, irreversable damage to the environment, overpopulation, frequent famines, growing reliance on dictatorial governments, increasing meanness and rancor in human relationships, and mounting concern over the question of human survival.

Consequences of Emphasis on Growth

In our evaluation of the role that policies favoring growth play in our society, consideration should be given to the impact that these policies have had on typical American communities and also to the probable consequences that a substitute economic stability policy could have. The comparison of consequences detailed in Table 3 highlights several of the differences between these alternatives. It is fair to note, however, that the consequences associated with economic stability have been given a Hectorian bias, in that they have been vested with a certain "lost cause nobility" they may not actually be found to have once we have more experience with them.

When we ask the question: What has growth meant to the typical community?, we must admit that in many cases it has provided the basis for

Table 1. Attitudes and perceptions of the American people at four different periods

Items	1640	1780	1920	1975
Population numbers	10,000	4 million	105 million	213 million
Social goal	God's State on Earth	Freedom from Restraint	Materialism - Two Chickens in Every Pot	Wider Opportunities For All People
Government	Theocracy	Rule by Property Owners	Wide Suffrage	Youth Suffrage
Self Perception	God's Chosen People	Beginnings of Manifest Destiny	No. 1 and America First	Beginnings of World Allegiance
Economic Philosophy	Puritan Work Ethic	Laissez Faire	Semi-Rugged Individualism	Big Business-Unions-Government
Resource Policy	Congregational and State Guidance	Private Initiative in Developments	Private Development with Public Limits	Public Assistance and Guidance
Class Structure	God Made the Classes	Political Equality for Some	Political Equality with Algerism	Equality of Opportunity

Table 2. Two hypotheses concerning the nature of future conditions and attitudes

Pessimistic view	Item	Optimistic view
500 million or more	Population numbers	250 million people
Survival	Social goal	The good life
Increasing reliance on authoritarianism, big brother, 1984	Government	Participatory democracy
Frustrated individualism	Self perception	World citizenship
Every man for himself	Economic philosophy	Self-agency within the limits of the public interest
Use it while it lasts	Resource policy	Stewardship of resources
Renewed class conflict	Class structure	One people

Table 3. Comparison of the consequences of the concepts of growth and economic stability

Growth results in:	Economic stability can lead to:
High levels of economic development	Slower rates of change, a more stable society
Jobs, rising real incomes, affluence	More constant incomes, fewer new jobs
Rising property values	Stabilization of property values
Prosperity, inflation, occasional recessions with unemployment	Fewer up and down swings in the economy, jobs guaranteed for all willing workers
Considerable succession in land uses	Less demand for changes in land use
View of land as a commodity and as a store of wealth	View of land as a resource to be used in the public interest
Incentives for resource exploitation	Slowing of rates of resource exploitation
Incentives for rapid obsolescence	More reinvestment, less obsolescence
Blighting and desertion of rural and urban communities	Emphasis on management of resources for continuation of their present uses
Emphasis on wealth and property as a basis for community status	Change in view of wealth and property ownership as basis for power
Darwinian survival of people and communities	Increased role for citizens in community decisions and for government in directing economic decisions
Acceptance of a "change is progress" philosophy	Emphasis on policies to cope with shortages

the community's existence. Growth in the past has meant that we had job opportunities. These have attracted people from other areas, who often brought capital with them which could be used along with the immigrant's labor and talents to foster additional growth. Growth has stimulated economic development and added fuel to the process that has brought rising real incomes, increasing consumer demands for a vast array of products and services, and rising property values.

One of the great attractions of growth has been the promise it offers of profits for the businessman and jobs for workers. It has prompted periods of prosperity and inflation that have often been followed by recessions and widespread unemployment. From the point of view of land use, it has encouraged speculation and considerable succession in land use as lands have shifted to higher and better commercial uses. It has caused land owners in this country to think of land more as a commodity to be used or bought and sold than as a resource to be husbanded. Growth also has favored the rapid exploitation of the cream of our natural resources. Indeed, it is fair to say that it was the rapid exploitation of our forest, mineral, and agricultural resources in the late 1800s that facilitated much of the nation's rapid economic development during that period.

Growth also has had unfortunate effects in providing market incentives for rapid obsolescence. This obsolescence affects many of the products we buy. It also affects our houses, neighborhoods and communities. Migration of economic opportunities has brought the building and abandonment of towns. Less pronounced shifts in combination with the attraction of new developments somewhere else have led to the blighting and decay of both urban and rural communities. Our growth-oriented preoccupation with the desirability of material possessions has caused us to stress possession of wealth as a basis for status. It also has caused us on many occasions to apply a Darwinian survival of the fittest test to the continued operation of both communities and private businesses.

Overall, growth has done much to provide us with the affluence and material wealth of our present world. But it has had its disadvantages. While it worked well in a frontier society of bountiful natural resources, it creates problems for those who would protect, conserve, and husband our more fragile and finite resources.

Economic stability has been posed as an alternative to a policy of growth.[2] We have had little true experience with prolonged economic stability since the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution. In absence of real experience, one can only speculate on the actual consequences of a stable economy. If one accepts the hypotheses postulated in Table 3, it can be assumed that economic stability will bring a slower rate of change, that full employment can be provided through government support of jobs, that property values will level off, that inflation can be controlled, and that entrepreneurs would lose many of the profit incentives they now have for venturing capital and knowhow in new developments.

Some of the most far-reaching impacts of stability will involve its effect on the use of land and other natural resources. With economic stability we would presumably have a change in our outlook concerning land. New land developments would be discouraged unless they were clearly in the public interest. Modifications of our concept of property rights would cause owners to emphasize management for the continued current use of land. Emphasis would be placed on the protection, conservation, and extension of the usable life of exploitable resources. Similar attempts would be made to minimize the obsolescence of capital goods and of community and human resources. Hopefully, as a part of this new look, new emphases will be given to human resources, possession of material wealth will become less a basis for power, and citizens will participate more in community and government decisions.

A number of sticky questions arise when we ask whether the steady-state economy can operate as well as some of its proponents suggest. To be functional, such an economy will obviously need more public planning and more adherence to carefully developed national and international policies on population, food production, and energy and other raw material use than we now have. Government regulations will be needed to control the options businessmen have enjoyed for undertaking new developments under our laissez faire approach. Limitations on growth also will mean that material wealth that some people could have used will not be produced until a later time period.

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[2] A considerable literature has appeared in recent years on the subject of economic stability as a future policy option. Two excellent contributions are Mancur Olson and Hans H. Landsberg (editors), The No-Growth Society, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1973, and Herman E. Daly (editor), Toward a Steady-State Economy, San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Company, 1973.

Much of the case for accepting economic stability would disappear if we were not facing problems of overpopulation, environmental degradation, and shortages of energy and mineral resources. The compelling nature of these problems may force us to accept economic stability as the only practical means of perpetuating and prolonging the type of society we now have.

With a policy of economic stability, we cannot look forward to major increases in our fund of material wealth. But this need not be bad. If new technology permits increased worker productivity, we can think in terms of dividing the work load in such a way that we can enjoy an increase in individual leisure time. All citizens can have adequate supplies of material goods without programs to greatly increase the total supplies of these goods. Emphasis can be placed on the production of quality products that lack their present built-in obsolescence. We can eliminate much of the input of valuable resources that now goes into junk products. A premium can be placed on the provision of service employment. A major benefit of the steady-state economy from the point of view of many observers lies in the hope that limitations of the availability of material goods may cause us to give up our preoccupation with materialism and turn to programs that can lead to the cultural and esthetic enrichment of our lives.

Some Issues Associated With Growth

The final section of this paper deals with four important issues that are associated with the operation of the concepts of growth and development. These are: (1) the measurement of economic growth, (2) the limits of growth, (3) community problems in adjusting to no-growth, and (4) the challenge of community resource development.

Measurement of economic growth

Accountants, businessmen, and economists have been using economic statistics for a long time. It has only been during the past generation, however, that they have devised an accepted technique for measuring economic growth. Growth is now calculated in terms of trends in GNP or gross national product.

Gross national product is a specialized economic concept. It can be defined as the total output of goods and services of a nation valued at their going market prices. Output is measured in terms of the expenditures by which goods and services are acquired. Some values such as the rental values of owner-occupied dwellings enter into the totals and are imputed. As this definition indicates, GNP is a measure of economic values. Social, political, environmental, and esthetic considerations do not enter into the total. GNP is not an indicator of social well-being or welfare even though it is sometimes improperly used for this purpose.

There is nothing wrong with the concept of gross national product when it is used by people who know and understand its significance. Unfortunately, the concept has been grabbed by representatives of the news media and others and treated as a general index of progress and national welfare, which it isn't. As a measure of economic growth, GNP can be misleading because no allowances are made for inflation. Gross national product can rise on the statistical charts at a time when average real incomes are declining. It is weak also because it focuses on national rather than average individual incomes. When population numbers are increasing rapidly, national totals can rise while the average shares of these totals are declining.

Another weakness of the GNP concept as a measure of growth concerns the nature of the items valued. An example could include the case of a soft drink container. The metal used to make the container may be sold for a fraction of a cent. The value added in making the container can push its value for GNP calculation purposes up to one or two cents. Once it is sold with Coca Cola in it, its prorated value for GNP purposes may go up to ten cents. Then if it is tossed out the window of a moving car along the highway, it can make its biggest contribution to GNP because it may cost a dollar to have someone pick it up for final disposal. As this account suggests, the GNP calculation counts only the cost of what happens and disregards entirely what might be best for society. It also highlights our need for more realistic measures of social progress that can give appropriate weights to advances in social well-being.

The limits to growth

A second issue associated with growth concerns the adequacy of the earth's resources to sustain continued growth. Economists have recognized the problem inherent in this question since the time of Malthus. As a matter of fact, it was the initial concern of economics with this problem that earned it the title of "the dismal science." During the late 1800s, representatives of the classical school of economists hypothesized what is now known as the secular law of diminishing returns. This law provides that with any given state of technology man must expect to get smaller and smaller returns from his inputs of capital and labor to land until a point of total diminishing returns is reached. New knowhow and the bringing of additional lands into use have saved us from contact with this ultimate point of diminishing returns and will probably continue to do so for many decades yet to come.

The race of technology to keep up with mounting population numbers has caused many neo-Malthusians to issue dire warnings and predictions of doom. We have been able to laugh off many of these predictions as overstated and unrealistic until recent years. A number of factors such as the continuing flood of population in the less developed nations, the irreversible impacts that foolhardy practices can have on basic ecological and physical conditions that are essential to our long-term survival, and our seemingly insatiable appetite for our remaining supplies of metals and mineral fuels, however, indicate that, even though our situation is still far from hopeless, a re-evaluation and reworking of our growth policies is already overdue.

Evidence of the writer's concern about our emerging resource problems has been indicated a number of times throughout this paper. As an aside, it can be indicated that my general philosophy causes me to reject many of the conclusions of the Club of Rome's report, The Limits to Growth.[3] My position is predicated on a conviction that man is a thinking animal and that, once the constraints to our future well-being are understood, he will use his power to reason constructively to devise appropriate strategies for continuing and maintaining the level of civilization we have thus far attained. A second great transformation in our economic attitudes and behavior represents a necessary step in these strategies.

Community problems in adjusting to no-growth

No-growth policies can bring both opportunities and problems for rural as well as urban communities. With a no-growth situation, most cities and communities will remain relatively constant in size. There will be little occasion for planning or developing new communities unless there is a deliberate decision to decentralize our concentration of urban population through the creation of new towns. No-growth can bring a burden of additional regulations for communities. Some also have suggested that the lack of upward movement permitted until recently by rising real incomes and growing individual affluence can give rise to new class conflicts. Two of the more significant impacts of no-growth concern the potential it provides for communities to limit their future growth and the intermediate-term problem that may arise in providing jobs for a still expanding work force.

Whether or not communities have the right to limit their size by regimenting future growth is now one of the most perplexing problems facing planners. In the past, it was often assumed that all communities wanted to grow. During the past two decades, however, we have come to realize that, far from securing economies of scale, increasing growth can often bring the destruction of community amenities and values. People who have moved away from large cities to enjoy the advantages of rural or suburban communities often lead the movement to close the gates to prevent others from coming into their communities. They and their neighbors argue that limiting growth is the only practicable method for retraining the values they came to enjoy. In contrast to this view, it is argued that everyone has a basic right to travel and to locate and live wherever he wants as long as he can pay for the privilege.

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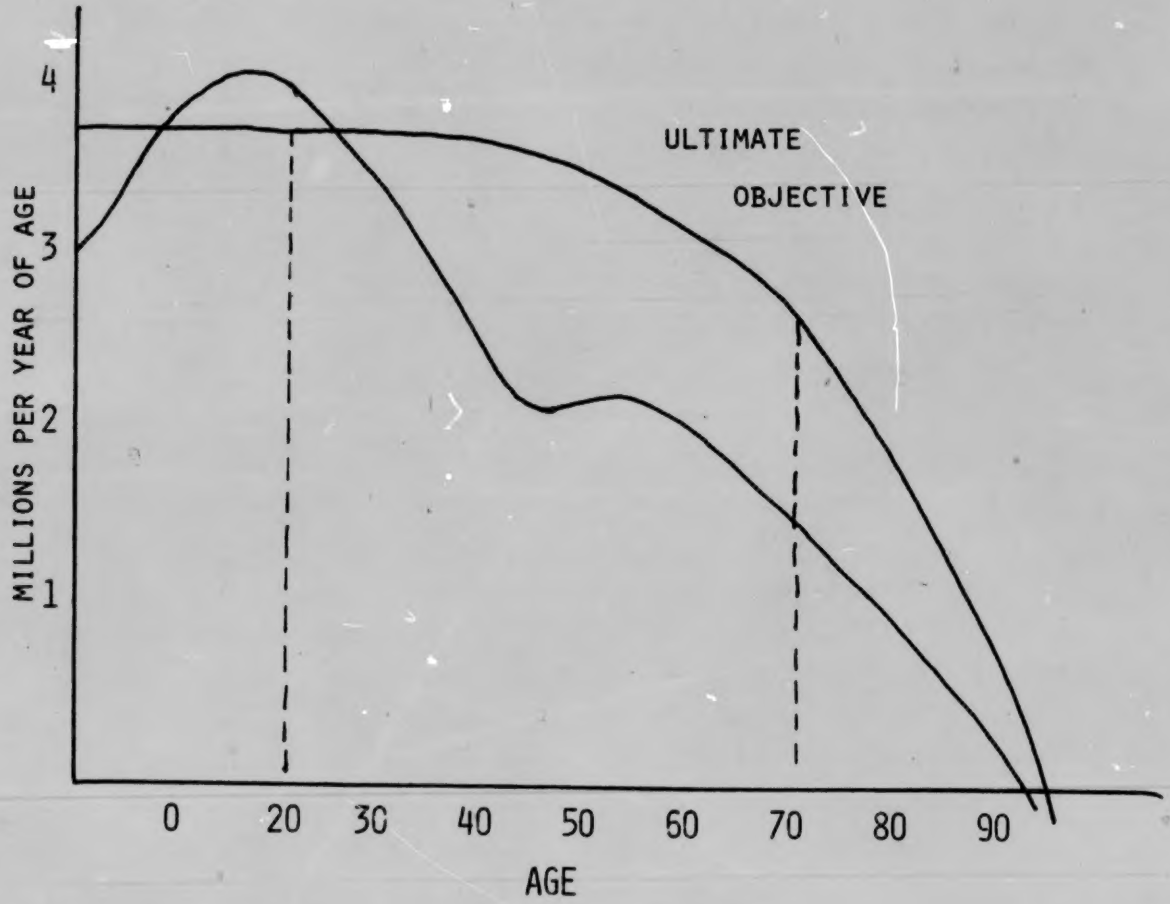
[3] Cf. Donella H. Meadows, Dennis L. Meadows, Jorgen Randers, and William W. Behrens III, The Limits to Growth. New York: Universe Books, 1972.

The constitutional issue of whether a community has a right to limit its growth will probably be decided within the next few years. The courts have already agreed in the Ramapo case that cities can limit growth through phased plans that relate the amount of new building that can take place to a schedule of municipal public works construction. A lower court in California has denied the right of the city of Petaluma to restrict growth, but this decision has been reversed by a higher court and is now on the way to the Supreme Court for final review. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court has ruled that zoning regulations designed to frustrate "natural growth" are illegal and a Colorado court has outlawed the attempt of the city of Boulder to prevent building by denying the builder hookups to the city water and sewer system. In the Belle Terre, New York, case, however, the Supreme Court has recognized the right of communities to limit residential areas to single family homes. Another test of the right of communities to make decisions concerning their future growth is underway in Florida where Boca Raton has acted to limit residential construction to a total of 40,000 residential units. The construction industry is contesting this action in the courts, but city officials maintain that action of this order is necessary if they are to maintain a desirable community and not "become another Miami Beach."

Providing jobs for an on-coming crop of young workers represents a strikingly different problem. Zero population growth may or may not be adopted as a policy goal at the time a no-growth policy is instituted. Whether it is or not, a time lag of approximately 60 years will be needed to even out the kinks in the age distribution of our total population. Ideally, we would like to have a relatively even number of people in each age group up to 60 rather than the uneven distribution for 1970 depicted in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY AGE
UNITED STATES, 1970



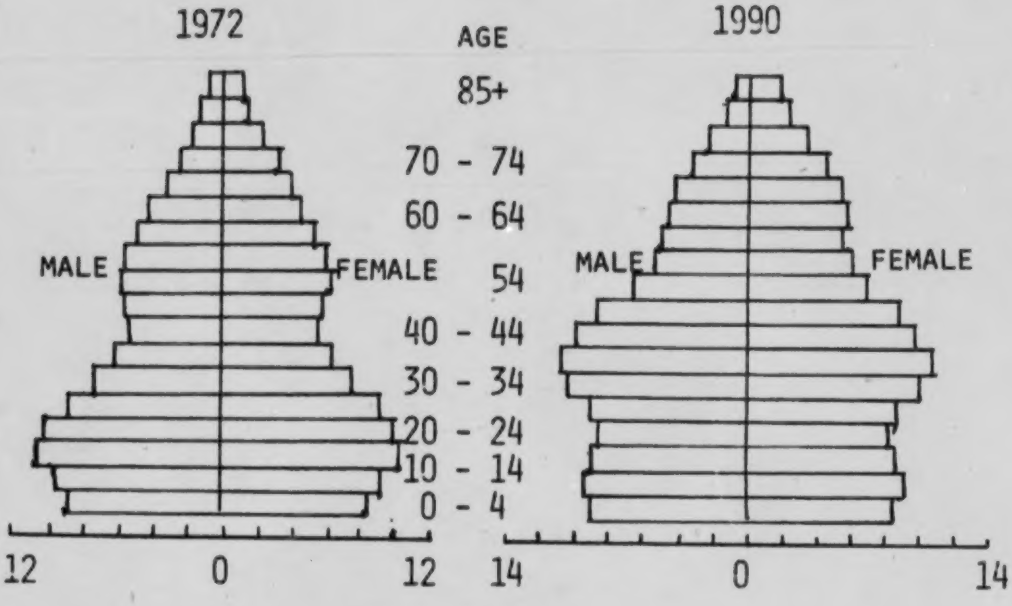
Another view of our population age distribution problem is presented in Figure 2. This graph shows the population age-sex pyramids for the United States for 1972 and the expected situation in 1990. The pyramid for 1972 indicates that we now have a slight surplus of people in the 50 to 59 year age brackets, a definite shortage of people born during the depression years and now in the 35 to 44 age brackets, and a large surplus of people in the 10 to 29 age brackets who were born in the post-World War II baby boom. Fifteen years from now (assuming no increase in the birthrate for the 0 to 14 age brackets which are yet to be born), the nation will have a bulge of people in the 25 to 44 age brackets with smaller than normal populations in the slightly older and younger age brackets.

A critical problem that our communities should be gearing up for centers is the need to provide employment opportunities for the young people now in the 10 to 24 age brackets. As Figure 3 indicates, we had relatively equal numbers of workers in the 30 to 59 age brackets in 1972 and the beginnings of a bulge of workers in the younger age brackets. By 1990, this flow of potential new workers into the job market will call for between 20 and 30 percent more jobs than we have today. Our total population in the 20 to 64 age brackets is expected to rise by 35 million persons from 116.7 million in 1975 to 141.5 million in 1990. The number of men in this age bracket--most of whom will want to work--will rise by 22.3 percent while a higher proportion of our young women will probably expect jobs in another 15 years than has been the case in the past.

Considering the fact that almost nine percent of our present work force is unemployed, we will need to provide around 30 percent more jobs in 1990 than we now have if we are to enjoy full employment. This objective will represent a high goal if we have an active growth economy. With a no-growth situation, considerable restructuring of our work patterns, with shorter work hours, more public employment, and the creation of large numbers of service-oriented jobs, will likely be necessary if full employment is to be attained.

FIGURE 2.
POPULATION BY AGE & SEX
UNITED STATES

1972 & 1990

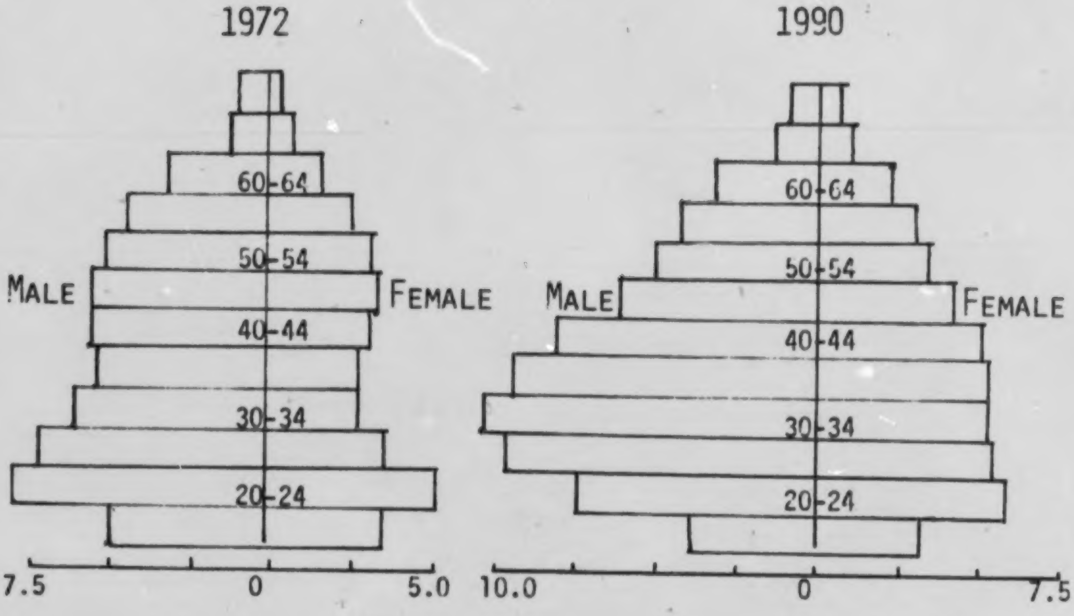


POPULATION (IN MILLIONS)

FIGURE 3.

LABOR FORCE BY AGE & SEX
UNITED STATES

1972 & 1990



LABOR FORCE IN MILLIONS

The challenge of community resource development

Whatever the future brings, we have a definite challenge ahead in the area of community resource development. Some of our problems will be easier to handle if we have a growth and development-oriented economy. Others appear more capable of solution with the assumptions of no-growth. As often happens, we will probably find ourselves operating with conditions that represent a compromise between these alternatives.

What we have described as community resource development in recent years can be described as a variously directed effort to cause something to happen. Our official programs have been channeled for the most part toward work with communities that have lagged behind. Those with "get-up and go" have not needed our help.

Community resource development has taken a number of forms. Emphasis has been given to self-help arrangements under which we have encouraged local leaders to tug at their community bootstraps. Many of our programs have stressed planning approaches in which we have helped local people identify their problems, their resources, and their opportunities, and then to choose lines of action with which they would move ahead. Efforts have been made to study social attitudes and motivations and to develop sensitivities to local problems. Educational approaches have been used to identify and train local leadership. Studies also have been of the economic bases and the locational opportunities available to communities.

Resource developers, both those who work with community problems and those who work with other resources, have a basic responsibility for dealing with real world problems. They must accept the factual bases for different situations as they find them. In their quest for problem solutions, they have an obligation to use a broad brush approach in identifying, analyzing, and evaluating policies, strategies, and techniques that can be expected to do what is expected of them. They need vision so that they can sense emerging limiting factors.

Two important techniques are essential ingredients of the resource development problem solving approach. In working with new situations, workers need to analyze the problems, inventory the resources available for dealing with these problems, and then identify and evaluate those alternative opportunities that exist for working out viable solutions. A second technique calls for recognition of the fact that the development, management, and use of resources takes place within a three-fold framework. The three frameworks call for joint recognition of the requirements of our physical and biological or ecological world, the workings of our economic order, and the legal and social considerations that provide an institutional setting for man's activities. Every policy, strategy and technique that is suggested as a line of action or as a solution to a community resource development problem should meet the test of being physically and biologically practicable, economically feasible, and institutionally acceptable.

Much has been accomplished with our community resource development efforts. But much remains to be done. Somehow, we must do a better job than we have in putting it all together--in finding out how communities really tick and in determining why some succeed while others just survive. The challenge ahead is closely associated with the phenomenon of growth. If we are fortunate in being able to continue our operations in a growth economy, we will have a big job in doing what we have been doing, but in doing it better. Our challenge will be even greater if we are called upon to work with the conditions of modified growth or no-growth. With both of these eventualities, programs of special assistance and counseling will be needed to help community leaders adjust to the new outlook. The transition can be made and the tools of community resource development can be applied as well under the new conditions as now. We should recognize from the start, however, that the new programs will differ considerably in content from those we have pushed in a growth-conscious world.

THE GREAT CHANGE[*]

Roland L. Warren[**]

The question of how much human beings can control their own destiny goes back millenia, perhaps to Adam and Eve. We see, even in our own lifetime, what seem to be inexorable trends changing the face of America. Some of them we like. Some of them we don't. And, what is more confusing, it is not always the same set of changes which all groups like or dislike. One man's progress may be another's catastrophe.

There is a little of the Utopian in all of us. We can't help thinking now and then that things might have been different; that some of the things we don't like might not have had to happen, and that more of the things we do like might have been possible--and, more importantly, might still be possible.

Consider some of the things that most people--but not all--think of as the brighter side of these developments. Our steadily growing technology makes human work ever more efficient and for most people in this country the trend over the years has been for better health, less fear of abject dependence, and greater access to nature's bounty. We have learned to be somewhat more decent with our children, and yes, to respect the integrity of women more fully. (In the "we" here I am including the women and children, themselves.) We have certainly made definite progress in civil rights, especially as regards ethnic minorities--although we still have a long way to go on all these things. As a member of a family of amateur and professional musicians, I note with pride that there are more than a thousand amateur symphony orchestras in the United States.

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[*] Paper prepared for the Institutes for Intensive Training for Non-Metropolitan Development, University of Nebraska and Michigan State University, April and September, 1975, and published in conference proceedings (available from Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Nebraska-Lincoln).

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One can match such blessings with an equally arbitrary selection of developments most people decry. Our rates of crime and drug addiction were never higher. The federal deficit mounts. The trend toward converting family farms into mechanized, corporate-owned, impersonal business ventures continues. We are rubbing up against some important limits to our natural resources. Our local communities have lost much of their autonomy to government at the state capital and in Washington, and much of our locally owned business and industry has been soaked up by giant absentee corporations.

Anyone could list an equally important set of pluses and minuses connected with the great changes which are sweeping across this country and the world. My question is: Could it have been otherwise? To what extent can we not only learn from the past, but to what extent can we control the future? Most of the events, good and bad, which I have mentioned are made by human beings. If human beings had acted differently, could it have been otherwise? Could there have been more of those things which most people consider good and fewer of those things which most people consider bad? Somewhere along the line, did we really "blow it?" And if so, how can we do better tomorrow?

We are concerned here with non-metropolitan development. But before turning to that, let us note the apparently inexorable trend toward metropolitan growth. With every new decennial census we find a larger proportion of people living in metropolitan areas. By 1970 we also found that more such people lived in the areas surrounding large cities than inside them. Will these huge metropolitan complexes continue to grow? And if so, what will the rub-off be on the smaller cities and the open country? Let me simply point out that while much has been said about discouraging metropolitan growth, by creating smaller new towns, and by reinforcing rural living, the metropolitan areas continue to grow. Is this trend beyond control? Will it run its course and stop when it pleases? One can ask the same of many of the changes taking place in smaller cities, villages, and out on the land.

Different groups of people do lots of things to influence the large course of events. They agitate and legislate about this or that problem.

They set up control boards and regulating commissions, provide state or federal funding for special programs, develop planning boards, produce master plans, bring people together to discuss their communities' problems, set experts to work on knotty problem situations, engage in community development, community organization, social planning, social action. In a sense, such activities add up to the ways we deliberately try to bring collective action to bear on influencing the future of our society and of our local communities, rather than just "letting things happen naturally." And, of course, the reason we aren't satisfied to sit back and let things happen naturally is that when they do, we don't like the result. Further, when we intervene collectively, we often help cause some of the very problems we later decry. For example, few people disagree that federal housing policy after World War II contributed to the growth of the suburbs, the exodus of whites to the suburbs from the cities, and the development toward black inner cities and white suburbs. There is similarly a growing body of literature documenting the possibility that government regulation of private industry often tends to promote higher prices rather than lower prices, and to do less for consumer interests than the competitive market would have produced. Such allegations are now being made about the regulation of interstate trucking and of air travel.

There are two interesting and important aspects of such activities designed in some way to control the future course of events. First, they tend to be responses to changes which have already taken place. There are new narcotics control programs because drug addiction has already increased. There are housing programs because the forces influencing the housing situation have worked themselves out in a particular way. There is unemployment insurance and emergency work relief because unemployment is produced by our industrial system. The things we do deliberately and collectively seem to be reactive, rather than proactive. Second, the things we do, the boards and agencies we set up, the new rules and regulations, the new technological solutions to problems caused by yesterday's technology--all of these responses to yesterday's problems turn around and become part of the changing situation whose problems we have to deal with today. And yes, our actions in turn will not only help ease today's problems--if they do (many of them don't)--but will also contribute to tomorrow's problems.

It doesn't take much of a sense of history to recognize that the changes we see taking place today are simply today's momentary outcome of a series of changes which have been taking place not only in this country but--at various speeds--throughout the globe, changes which are directly traceable to the industrial revolution of the Eighteenth Century, if not back to the Renaissance. It is, of course, impossible to grasp their full complexity. It is perhaps convenient to refer to the whole bundle of basic social changes as the Great Change. I believe much of the complexity of the great change can be encompassed in seven aspects. These are aspects which have played themselves out continuously over at least the past two centuries and are noticeable in various parts of the world. But at the same time, they play themselves out right on Main Street in your community and mine, and they affect your life and mine, and probably will do so for some time to come, regardless of the actions which are taken to deal with the situations they create.

The first of these is the continuing process of division of labor. As our technology in all fields develops, we find ourselves doing more specialized things. The federal government's list of different types of occupation--the Dictionary of Occupational Titles--even twenty-five years ago gave specific definitions to 22,000 specifically different jobs. Since then, the number has continued to mount. What this means is that there are more and more groups of people who earn their living by doing essentially different things. The function which one person performed a century ago or even a decade ago may now be broken down into the specialized fragmented jobs of ten or a hundred people. In the process, paradoxically, production is increased exponentially, rather than decreased. But the fact of specialization of work underlies many of the changes in the way our communities are put together, both for earning sustenance and in the way work interests unite or separate people.

A second basic underlying trend is toward a greater diversity of interests and associations. Work-related division of labor, just alluded to, is a part of this process of splintering people into a host of divergent interests and interest groups, but it is only a part of it. We tend to lag behind the course of events in our conceptions of what communities are like. We still tend to think of communities as comprised of people who share common interests because of largely common occupations and because of their common concern with matters of the locality. But actually, we find, even in very small communities, people with the most diverse sets of interests, many of whom have little emotional investment in their local communities, but are much more interested in their labor union or trade association or professional association or national health association or specific denominational religious activities, or stamp clubs, or whatever.

A third trend is especially important, and we find it changing the nature of even the smallest communities and hamlets. That is for the local units in the community to become increasingly tied to organizations and systems outside the local community. The increase is both in the number of local units which have such extra-community ties, and in the strength of these ties. In some instances, of course, the strength of the tie to the extra-community system is extremely great. Thus, the local post office is integrated--more or less--into the U.S. Postal Service, and although it receives and distributes mail locally, its rules, regulations, and procedures are prescribed nationally, and there is virtually no local control. Much the same is true of the branch banks and branch plants of businesses with headquarters elsewhere. It is not only in the profit sector; one sees a whole array of voluntary organizations such as Cancer and Heart, the American Legion, and the services in many local churches which are subject to large measures of external control. National food store chains are swallowing up more and more formerly independent grocery stores. National gasoline companies control the local gasoline outlets, and independent owners have a harder job staying in business. National unions program much local union activity. The local radio and TV stations receive much of their daily programming from national broadcast networks.

Not only do many and varied community units have strong ties with extra-community organizations, but the ties appear to be getting stronger as time goes on. Less and less of their activity is determined by local people. More and more of it comes from outside the community. They are, in many cases, much more closely integrated with their respective extra-community systems than they are with each other, locally. A result of this is that if some degree of concerted action among such diverse units at the local level is to take place, it must be brought about through deliberate efforts. It doesn't just happen "naturally" any more, since the concerns are now so diverse and tied in with so many different external systems with differing goals and organizational styles.

A fourth trend is toward impersonal bureaucracies. As Max Weber pointed out, bureaucratic organization, with its clearly defined jobs, with its standardized procedures, its tight rules and regulations, its hierarchical structuring with authority flowing downward from the top and responsibility flowing upward through the echelons, with its objectivity, and its provision for standardized treatment of types of procedures, is well designed for integrating the extreme complexity involved in the division of labor. The standardization of routines and the depersonalization of procedures are designed to hold the whole complex network together and to regularize problems into predictable and manageable units. But the reverse side of this bureaucratic depersonalization is dehumanization; pressuring individuals to act like cogs in a machine rather than like free flesh and blood human beings. We experience this increasing depersonalization and bureaucracy at the local bank, at the check-out counter of the local supermarket; at the local post office, in the local plant, in various government agencies. The long-time trend is to mask the human face, with all its wrinkles and warts, with the impersonal mask of the official position. We deal less and less with people we know, as whole people; more and more with that little part of their humanity which is required by the specialized task they are performing in a bureaucratic setting.

A fifth trend, also of great importance, has been the gradual transfer of functions out of the home and out of neighborhood groups and voluntary associations to profit enterprise and government. You can name a great many very vital functions, such as caring for sick persons, preparing meals, providing recreational activities, doing various kinds of fixing-up and maintenance activity around the house, caring for dependents. All these and more have moved in part or in whole out of the home, out of the group of neighbors, to and from voluntary agencies, and into private profit enterprise and tax-supported governmental activities. One result is that family members don't really need each other so absolutely as they once did for such things, and as someone has poignantly said, therefore the only reason for their staying together is that they love each other. But by the same token, many split up; and often, among those who don't, the family is simply not as tight and as important a unit as it once was. Much the same can be said for the local neighborhood, and even for the larger local community. One is not so absolutely dependent on these people for daily necessities. It makes for greater personal independence--with all its hazards--but gives these units less reason for existence.

A sixth trend has already been referred to--urbanization and suburbanization. Together, they make for metropolitan growth. One scholar has defined suburbanization as the process through which rural areas are transformed into urban areas, becoming an integral part of the city. And many sections of inner cities today were once independent communities, which gradually were brought into the city's orbit in a transitional way as suburbs and later were so ingested into the growing city that they now are indistinguishable from other parts of the city, consisting only of shopping centers within its confines. The process continues as the city grows beyond its own official boundaries so that one knows he has reached the city limits only if there is a sign there telling him so.

But it is a mistake to equate urban growth with this growth of large metropolitan complexes. It happens all the way down the line. The hamlet becomes the small village, the large village, the small city, and then the city of considerable size. Places of even five thousand population, as well as those of ten thousand or fifty thousand, begin to take on some of the aspects of the big city.

But again, even the open country is not immune from urbanization. Urban products and institutions spread over the countryside, and more and more of the technology for home and business formerly associated with city life comes to be a part of so-called "rural" life as well. We still have the wide open spaces, as people in the Middle and Far West well know, but though these wide open spaces are still apparent physically, socially they are being transformed by the technological revolution and by the spread of urban ways to the open land.

Finally, in this long list of long-time trends making up the great change, there is a change in values. Certainly the history of the past few decades indicates an increasing willingness of the American people to expand the functions of government and to pay an increasing share of their personal incomes for these expanded governmental activities. The change in values--as against the notion that that government is best which governs least--is an inexorable part of the change which makes American society more diverse, more differentiated, and therefore requires it to have more by way of a central decision-making apparatus if the ever growing, ever more complex big, booming, buzzing confusion is to be held together and if life is to remain sufficiently ordered for over two hundred million people to live their lives and sustain each other in the division of labor. The growth of governmental bureaucracy indicates that the governmental sector is no more immune to bureaucratic impersonality than is the profit sector.

One can list other modifications in dominant American values. An important one is the gradual switch from emphasis on a moral interpretation of behavior to emphasis on a scientific or causal interpretation. A United States senator may rail against the use of federal money to support research into why people fall in and out of love, but more and more of the human experience is being subjected to scientific scrutiny, and the tendency is growing to look at undesirable behavior not so much with moral indignation as with a question as to what could have caused it. Putting it another way, we have changed, for better or worse, from calling the transgressor an evil person to calling him a sick person. You can be the judge as to whether you think this represents progress!

Another change in values underlies a greater willingness to switch from moral reform as a panacea for the problems of local communities to the idea of social planning as a means of avoiding or mitigating these problems. Most people agree that in the past century there has been a trend away from emphasizing the glories of work to emphasizing the values of leisure; from emphasizing self-discipline to exercising self-indulgence; from hard work to hard play; from heroes of production to such heroes of consumption as movie and television stars. Pleasure is less often taken as an instrument of the devil, more often as everyone's birthright.

As a final value change, one sees the beginnings of a reaction against most of the trends I have just mentioned. This reaction takes various forms, and I want to get to some of them in a minute.

Let me simply list again the seven aspects of the great change that I think help throw light on the kinds of things we are concerned about in our local communities and their development:

1. Division of labor
2. Differentiation of interests and association
3. Increasing ties to extra-community systems
4. Bureaucratic depersonalization
5. Transfer of functions to profit enterprise and government
6. Urbanization and suburbanization
7. Changing values[1]

I think you will agree that these are not the changes that community development workers try to bring about through community action. As a matter of fact, as you consider that list, neither community development workers nor anyone else deliberately participated in action at the community or state or national or international level to bring these changes about. They are the changes that arise out of the individual actions of people and organizations, each seeking their own well-being. Yet they aggregate to trends of such strength and importance that we more or less take them for granted, as inevitable products of our modern civilization. Rather than seeking to address them, we usually turn in our efforts at change only toward trying to do something about some aspect of the situation which they have produced that we do not like--some problem that we wish to mitigate or avoid. Another way of saying the same thing is to point out that efforts to change any considerable cluster of these great trends of change would be truly revolutionary, and most of our change efforts are not revolutionary, but merely seek to adapt us with perhaps a little less noticeable disadvantage or hardship to whatever set of circumstances our historical development has confronted us with. We have not as a civilization taken our history into our own hands, but rather have contented ourselves with acting only within historical trends which we do not really attempt to control or even aspire to control.

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[1] For a fuller treatment of the great change, see Rolland L. Warren, The Community in America, 2nd edition (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1972), Chapters 3, 11, and 12.

If this is a valid statement, then I think we should recognize that our concerted efforts at community improvement take place within a fairly confined area. This is not to say they are insignificant. But nevertheless, they are not going to do much by way of reversing those trends I just enumerated. And if not, they are going to be adjustments to these trends, accepting the trends themselves as more or less beyond their control.

But interestingly enough, not everyone is willing to accept these trends as inevitable. In fact, there have been a number of recent developments indicating attempts to deal directly with these trends; to turn them around, as it were.

As an indication of more direct attack on trends of the great change, let us take the matter of bureaucratic depersonalization. Ever since the famous Hawthorne Studies of the Western Electric Company, there has been a growing realization of the importance of the human element in organizational productivity. Writers like Victor Thompson and Warren Bennis have pointed out that unless complex formal organizations are debureaucratized, they lose their effectiveness and may not be able to survive in today's uncertain and flexible world. The human relations and group dynamics movement has arisen to emphasize the importance of better communication through dealing with personal feelings as well as with merely the formal tasks prescribed from above. Sociologists like Robert K. Merton and Alvin Gouldner have pointed out the essential pathology of bureaucracies which attempt the full rationality called for by Max Weber, as have the political scientists Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom. Many business companies are trying to make their internal relationships more flexible, to reduce the number of control echelons, to cut across usual departmental boundaries for ad hoc developments.

From a different direction, the strong American emphasis on the importance of the locality has again come into prominence with the federal and state governments' growing emphasis on decentralization. In such developments as departmental decentralization of the state government and general revenue sharing and block grants by the federal government, there is an effort to move some decision-making back to the state and the local community. This movement is directed both at the strength of the ties to extra-community systems and to the matter of bureaucracy. Among other things, these developments attempt to reduce the red tape, the bureaucratic paper work, the inflexibility of bureaucratic regulations, the standardized programs which ignored individual differences among communities.

Such moves strike a resonant note in American society. For throughout our history, as illustrated by Shea's rebellion, the fight over the national bank, and the Populist movement, there has always been what one might call an anti-great change disposition. This has broken out from time to time as a revolt against bigness and bureaucracy, against centralization, against industrial control by Eastern banks or against the growing power of the federal government. Often it has taken the form of anti-intellectualism, since intellectualism became equated in many people's minds with the crass materialism of the big city and with a coldly "scientific" look at social processes, ignoring the beating hearts of those caught up in them. It took the form of a revolt against formalization, a wish to place greater faith in a handshake than in a legal contract, to place greater confidence in the ever-alert eyes of neighbors than in the policeman on the beat.

All these tendencies represent a latent hostility toward the great change as I have described it; a hostility which at one and the same time sees the human being as trapped in the great change and also as the maker and therefore the potential breaker of the great change.

The latest country-wide ferment of active hostility toward the great change occurred about a decade ago, in the almost simultaneous outbreak of what might be called the Ghetto revolt and the youth revolt. Each in its own way was a revolt against centralized authority and a veneration of participatory democracy--not a turning to something un-American but a harking back to earlier patterns of the New England town meeting and the direct democracy of the Western plains. Each in its own way showed the historic American penchant for anti-intellectualism, a sort of biased conception that intellectuals are alive only from the neck up. Each revolted against those impersonal bureaucracies which are "doing these things to us." Each saw the growth of science and technology and rational planning as a heartless development toward an automated world. Technology, to both movements, was not a solution but a large part of the problem.

In my opinion, the movement for neighborhood control was, and remains, an important evidence of this counter-trend. The people who hit the streets in protest actions and who spent hours and days and nights working on neighborhood organizations were, in my estimation, standing up and saying a big No to the great change, standing up and saying--and these were their own words--that they meant to take control of their own lives and of their own institutions; to take it back from absentee landlords, absentee corporations, and government bureaucracies at city, state and federal levels, and to take it back from the professional specialists who claimed to be acting for them but who also constituted part of their problem.

These smoldering trends have a way of waxing and waning at different times and around different issues. At present, the neighborhood movement and the youth revolt have waned considerably--though they have not completely disappeared. In their place as the current occasion for opposition to the great change is the energy and food crisis, and the social movement of environmentalism. Here it is the depletion of natural resources and the contamination of the environment by industry and the products of advanced industrial technology that constitute the occasion for resisting the great change, for asserting that we simply cannot go on with the unrestrained exploitation of earth's bounties and with a disregard of the poisons we spew into the environment. There is a growing realization--not only among a vanguard of environmentalists but among the rank and file in industry and government and the people on Main Street--

that somehow we must be able, or become able, to take a more active role in determining our own lives and our own life-styles, and that as a nation we will be forced to make such changes not so much by moral arguments as by dire necessity. To be less energy-profligate, there is little question that material and social life must be less elaborate. A simplifying of life which seemed impossible when presented simply as a matter of moral choice may well seem more possible when it is linked with the question of necessity. The philosopher Kant must smile in his grave when he hears us saying what he so long asserted: We must, therefore we can.

We have been considering various attempts in various guises to "turn things around," to get the great change going in the other direction toward an earlier--assumedly simpler and preferable--set of social conditions. To do so would take a stronger and more revolutionary force than any of these movements just mentioned; perhaps that is why each movement fails.

Now, let us consider the more usual reaction to the great change: namely, efforts to ease the strains it causes and make adaptations to it rather than trying to stop it or reverse it. Of course, in a sense, most of the social legislation of the past decades fits in this category. It is an attempt to exercise a minor influence on people's lives, not by influencing the great sweep of basic changes in our society, but rather by taking collective action to ease the strains caused by these basic changes.

Individuals, likewise, have been making their own private adaptations. For various sets of reasons they choose increasingly the life of the suburbs over the life of the central cities, where the great change has had its greatest impact. In a Gallup poll sometime ago, people were asked where they would really prefer to live, if they had the choice. Many more said they would prefer to live on farms or in small towns than actually live there. Suburbs were also a frequent preference. In my estimation, many people move to the suburbs because the suburbs are as close to the preindustrial rural landscape as they can possibly get and still find work in the highly diversified metropolitan complex. In this sense, it is still true that for many people, the suburbs are the small town's last stand, the last choice urban people have to flee from the bureaucracies, to live in small, decentralized municipalities, to know people as whole persons rather than as cogs in a machine, to get together with neighbors across the many differences of occupation and special interest that divide them, to participate in activities that in the city have long since been given over to government or to commercial auspices. In many suburbs it is almost pathetic to see the Saturday morning excursion to the village dump, the station wagon loaded with the week's accumulation of rubbish. In the city, a stranger comes to the door to get it.

Let us consider another type of development--the movement toward New Towns. In my estimation, the new town movement is not an attempt to fight the great change, but rather to take advantage of the technology it produces in order to construct what are thought to be optimum communities for today's highly complex living. In effect, they say: If we are going to have to live with growing diversity, with mounting technology, with large bureaucracies, with large cities, and the rest, this is the best way to do it.

I would place community development in this category of efforts to adjust to the great change so as to face some of the problems which it creates. A couple of decades ago, Arthur Morgan wrote:

> Many an American small town or village is no longer a community. Too often it is only a small city, the citizens largely going their individual ways. This progressive disappearance of the community in present-day life is one of the most disturbing phenomena of modern history.[2]

There seems little reason to believe that the community phenomenon will arise naturally under modern conditions as characterized by the seven aspects of the great change. If the ties which people have, or might have, to each other on the basis of common locality are to be strengthened, then this must occur through deliberate, organized effort. That sense of unity and consensus and common purpose which once arose quite spontaneously out of shared lives and common institutions and frequent personal contact can hardly be expected to arise in today's diversified world of differentiated interests, impersonality, and the rest. No doubt, the extent of such community sentiment and common purpose which existed in the past is highly exaggerated by us as we look back on it through nostalgically-tinted glasses. But under today's largely urbanized conditions, something more than sentiment must be depended on to keep the complex urban structure going. It rests on a precarious balance of necessarily highly integrated activities. And we are all quite aware that, left to their own accord, people's individual actions may add up to an aggregate effect which no one actually wanted, like a run on a bank, the deforestation that leads to floods, or the ugly chaotic development of land-use in the sprawling metropolitan fringes or out on the land.

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[2] Morgan, Arthur E., The Small Community: Foundation of Democratic Life (N.Y. and London: Harper and Brothers, 1942), p. 13.

People need ways of coming together to discuss some of these aggregate outcomes for which no adequate decision-action body exists. As a matter of fact, that is not a bad definition of community development: The provision for decision-making and action at social levels where no adequate decision-making structure yet exists. Three such levels are the local neighborhood, the larger local community, and the region. As I see it, the community development worker, no matter what his setting, is helping people to come together locally to consider their own problems and possibilities and to develop some of the real options that lie open to them for taking concerted action to address their problems. I say "real options," because I don't think a mass return to the pre-industrial face-to-face community is a real option for most communities. I don't even think common purpose, across the board, is a real option for most communities. Like it or not, the great change does mean that no community is an island unto itself. Each community is a part of the mainland, and its well-being is tied in, in a thousand ways, to what is going on in the rest of the mainland.

Melvin Webber, the well-known authority on city planning, is even more emphatic on the extent to which communities are tied to, and dependent on, the well-being of the larger society. After pointing out that because of the strengthening of the vertical pattern the local communities are less able than they once were to control what takes place within their borders, he enumerates in a persuasive way the extent to which problems that are played out at the local level cannot be controlled at the local level:

> Clearly, it is rather silly to suppose that any city agency might 'solve' the problems of unemployment or underemployment; or that it might, through local interventions, 'resolve' the problems of poverty; or that it might significantly affect income distribution; or that it might get at the causes of drug addiction; or indeed, that it might do anything curative about crime or any of a long list of social and economic difficulties that are made manifest in city settings. Typically, these most intractable difficulties are large-system problems with roots buried deep within the matrixes of the whole society.[3]

But there are some real options--as well as some false options--open to our communities as we come to grips realistically with what it means to live in the complex American society of the last quarter of the Twentieth Century. The more realistically we face the options open to us, the more likely our efforts will be more than a futile symbolic gesture. It makes sense to consider what our communities now are like, and to relate them to changes going on in the larger society. But let us keep in mind that the larger society is not only out there. It exists in our own community as well.

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[3] Mayer, Robert, Robert Moroney, and Robert Morris, Centrally Planned Change: A Re-examination of Theory and Experience (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), p. 33.

THE GOOD COMMUNITY[*]

Roland L. Warren[**]

This morning we considered some of the basic changes that are taking place and influencing what is going on in our local communities, and we noted that few if any of these changes are of the type that local community people can do much about. Somehow or other, in trying to be of help to local communities, we must come to grips with these tendencies, acknowledge them, and operate in relation to them. If we do not, our discussion of the good community will be an interesting intellectual exercise, but without relevance to the situations we face back home.

I am not saying that the Great Change constitutes the only realistic limitation on our thinking about the good community, but it is an important and complex one. Another important limitation, I would say, is more practical. We should be thinking about actual communities--choose one and keep it in mind--in order to tie our discussion down to a specific reality. We are not really here to discuss Utopias, but rather to think of the good community only as a guide toward which we can realistically address our efforts at community betterment.

I suppose that if we asked a large number of people what kind of a community they would like to live in, they might say that they would like to live in one which has a good solid economic base and can provide a decent level of living for all its people, a community that is physically attractive, and one in which people are friendly and considerate of each other.

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Those are not outrageous demands, and I imagine there are few who would not agree on their desirability.

The more important question would seem to be: Granted the desirability of such characteristics as these, how do we get from here to there? What kind of communities are likely to provide that sort of good life?

Well, let me start off by listing some community characteristics which we can do something about, and which are often mentioned as desirable for our local communities:

- People should know each other personally and should deal with each other as whole persons.
- The community should have a large measure of autonomy, be run by insiders rather than outsiders.
- The community should have the capacity to confront its problems and take concerted action to do something about them.
- There should be a broad distribution of power within the community.
- There should be widespread participation in community affairs and in community decisions.
- People should be committed to their community as something important, something worth working for, respecting, and nurturing.
- The community should not be exclusive but should include a wide variety of different income groups and ethnic groups and religious and interest groups.
- There should be a great deal of local neighborhood control in communities large enough to have distinct neighborhoods.
- The community should encompass the greatest possible degree of cooperation and the least possible conflict.
- The good community must be a just community.

A community that has these characteristics should have a good chance of being economically sound, physically attractive, and just and compassionate, in the view of many people, and perhaps you agree with them. I have in mind to examine each one of these characteristics in some detail, as a basis for our discussion later this afternoon both here and in the smaller groups. So let me suggest that you check this list over in your own mind, and if there are other characteristics you want to add or substitute for your idea of what a good community would be like, and what things we ought to work for, be sure to jot them down and see that they get introduced into the discussions. I do not claim that my list is complete; only, that it contains characteristics which are often mentioned as desirable community characteristics and that have a definite bearing on community development work.

It seems unwise to try to write out a prescription, as it were, for the good community, and perhaps that will become clear as we move along. What we need rather than a prescription is a set of guidelines. These are things we want to encourage and work toward, but of course how any community will actually turn out depends not only on a number of extra-community sources, but on a number of things which occur within the community as well, which we might not be able to control or not wish to control through community development efforts.

So let us proceed with the set of guidelines which I just enumerated and see how far that will get us. But before we do, let me warn you that my list is not so simple as it seems. We shall see that many of the characteristics enumerated pose some real dilemmas as to what we really do want, beyond merely approving of some good-sounding term. Some of these characteristics may be at odds with each other, as well, thus making it necessary to choose between them.

With this warning, let us begin..

1. Primary Group Relationships

By way of illustrating the problems involved, let us take the question of the extent to which people may or should really know each other in the community and should interact with each other on a personal basis. The very ambiguity of the term "community" allows us to sustain some extremely implausible images of what communities should be. For example, when we read in Baker Brownell's, The Human Community that "A community is a group of people who know one another well," we nod our heads in agreement.[1] He goes on to point out that "knowing well" must mean "the full pattern of functional social relationships which people may have with one another." To put this another way, we must know the grocer or lawyer not only as such, but also as persons--whether or not they go to church, how they feel about politics, where they live, how they get along with their family, what they think about the local school, and so on.

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[1] Brownell, Baker, The Human Community: Its Philosophy and Practice for a Time of Crisis (N.Y.: Harper & Brothers, 1950), p. 198.

At the same time we nod our heads in assent, however, we realize, when reminded, that such personal acquaintance among all community people is impossible in all but the very smallest communities. And since more than 70 percent of our people in this country live in large metropolitan areas, this component of the community--so important that Brownell makes it a criterion of community--becomes largely irrelevant. Brownell acknowledges this situation--but he doesn't have to like it. He writes:

> The great city rises; the human community declines. The stability of little places and the ordered rhythm of rural life are lost. The intimate faith that this man belongs here in the little group of people known well calls only for a "wisecrack" or contemptuous indifference.[2]

Three questions may be useful as we examine Brownell's prescription, or prescriptions by others regarding desirable characteristics of a community.

- To what extent is the desired characteristic possible under the circumstances of twentieth century living?
- How much of any particular good thing do we want?
- What is its price in terms of other values?

Brownell's conception of a desirable community does not do well in answering our first criterion: To what extent is it possible under circumstances of twentieth century living? But even if it did, there are those who question whether this small community, where everyone knows his own and everyone else's place, actually is or ever was quite so desirable as many people assume.

Yet the issue is more complex. If both advantages and disadvantages exist in the primary relationships of a tightly-knit neighborhood, this can be extremely important. For example, Zorbaugh pointed out four decades ago that in Chicago it was in the "World of Furnished Rooms," a neighborhood characterized by little primary group contact, where neighbor did not know neighbor, where one was truly anonymous, that there was the greatest freedom from the prying eyes of neighbors, the greatest liberation from small town gossip and back-biting, the freedom to be oneself. At the same time, there was the highest suicide rate of any area in the city, and other social indicators suggested that a price was paid for this freedom. There was little gossip because people didn't care enough to gossip about each other. They also didn't care enough to help out a person if he got sick, or even to know who the neighbor was, let alone knowing or caring if he was sick.[3]

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[2] Ibid., pp. 289-290.

The value of primary-group relationships is well established, yet in most of our communities not everyone can know everyone else personally. Further, the question might be raised whether this increasing of personal acquaintance among all community members is desirable. Is it something which can be furthered through deliberate efforts? If so, should the community development worker help to further it? And if so, how?

2. Autonomy

The next issue to be considered is autonomy. It is often said that a community should, insofar as possible, be "master of its own fate." Decisions as to what goes on in the community should be made by local people. They should not be made by federal officials, or in the state house, or in the headquarters offices of a national corporation or voluntary association. Rather, local people should have the principal say about business, governmental, and voluntary associations operating in the local community.

Unless the talk about local community autonomy is to be empty rhetoric, we must be willing to follow some of its implications. A community that was serious about its own local autonomy would tend to be rather resistant to things which make definite encroachments on local autonomy. Since federal and state grant-in-aid programs often place considerable limitations on such local freedom of choice, a community that was serious about its autonomy would turn them down--at great financial expense to itself, incidentally.

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[3] Zorbaugh, Harvey W., The Gold Coast and the Slum (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929).

It would also shy away from voluntary organizations such as some of the national health associations, whose local units are merely branches whose policies are determined at state or national headquarters. Likewise, it would hesitate to attract branch plants of national industrial firms, since decisions as to whether the local plant is to be expanded or not, whether local workers will be hired or laid off, would likewise be made by absentee owners, not local people.

This morning we considered the growing strength of vertical ties of community units to systems outside the community, a process which definitely operates against local community autonomy in that along with these ties goes the circumstance that many decisions about what will happen within the local community are made at some headquarters office far away in Washington or Chicago or New York. This runs counter to important American traditions about local autonomy, about government and other institutions staying "close to the people." But how much are you willing to pay in other values for this value of local autonomy? The price may be high. Let us consider it in relation to another desirable characteristic on my list--and yours, I would assume: namely, community viability.

3. Viability

By viability I refer to the capacity of local people to confront their problems effectively through some type of concerted action. Much of the community development movement, much of voluntary community work and professional community organization has been devoted to this goal of helping communities to develop the capacity to assess their problems and take action with respect to them. Leonard S. Cottrell's concept of community competence is very close to this conception. Cottrell's point is that we need to develop competent communities. He defines a competent community "as one in which the various component parts of the community: 1) are able to collaborate effectively in identifying the problems and needs of the community; 2) can achieve a working consensus on goals and priorities; 3) can agree on ways and means to implement the agreed upon goals; and 4) can collaborate effectively in the required actions."[4] Those of us who are familiar with Murray G. Ross' definition of community organization will notice a great similarity, although Cottrell comes to the subject from a different tradition than does Ross. Cottrell lists and describes a number of essential conditions for community competence:

- Commitment
- Self-other awareness and clarity of situational definitions
- Articulateness
- Communication
- Conflict containment and accommodation
- Management of relations with the larger society
- Machinery for facilitating participant interaction and decision-making

You notice he does not include community autonomy as a condition of competence. And that is understandable, for the relationship may be just the reverse. It is difficult to see how, under today's conditions, a community can develop a sound economic base and a good life for its citizens and face up to its problems and take constructive action with them, if it shuts itself off from the resources (both economic and intellectual) which are available to it from beyond its borders. On the contrary, one would suppose that the more "in touch" it is, the more its local people have professional, business, intellectual, and political connections with organizations and activities outside the community, the more stimulation it will receive and the more capacity it will have to deal constructively with its problems.

With this hypothesis in mind, a graduate student at the Heller School where I am located did a highly elaborate piece of dissertation research on the relationship between vertical ties and what he called community outputs.

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[4] Cottrell, Leonard S. Jr., "The Competent Community," In Burton H. Kaplan, Robert N. Wilson, and Alexander H. Leighton (eds.), Further Explorations in Social Psychiatry, New York: Basic Books, 1975.

He wanted to see whether strong vertical ties characterized the more competent communities or the less competent communities, as measured by various community outputs. The output measures he used were the extent of development of four types of federally funded programs that required considerable planning and mobilization on the part of local community organizations. In other words, if a community was to develop a program in any of these four areas, it had to be able to get itself together, assess its problems, develop a plan of action, and make a credible case, usually in competition with other communities, to the federal grant agency that it had a problem, was facing up to it, and had a competently organized plan of action. The four programs he used were per capita allocations and expenditures for anti-poverty programs, urban renewal, and Model Cities, and the per capita ratio of low-rent public housing units developed.

It is not so easy to find credible indicators of either competence or vertical ties. For the strength of vertical ties he used the number of nonprofit national organizations with local branches in the community, the percent of revenue collected in previous years from extra-local sources, and the number of lawyers per 100,000 of the population. Each of these represents a significant kind of organizational tie or avenue of access to resources from outside the community.

In this study, he controlled for a number of variables which might affect the relationship, such as type of local government, the degree of local need, the type of local power structure, and so on, in the 51 cities of his sample.

He found a modest but definite positive relationship between the strength of vertical ties and community competence as measured by these indicators. His conclusion was that the vertical ties of communities appear to strengthen community competence. Further, he found different patterns of variables operating to affect the level of performance in each of these four areas. Although there was some overlapping, one set of variables affects competence in one area, and a somewhat different set affects competence in another area. He therefore concluded that, in his words, "Community competence is not a characteristic of the whole community. Different issue areas have different levels of competence, and different elements affect problem-solving in different areas. Therefore, theoretical and practical considerations should treat the community as a differentiated social system rather than view it as a unitary entity."[5]

This last is an important point, and an emphasis of mine based on more theoretical considerations which this study tends to reinforce. That is that it is becoming increasingly fallacious, if it ever was valid in the past, to think of a community of any size at all as a single unit. We speak of community competence, or community decision making, or community power structure, or the community interest, or community well-being, or community actions, or community development, and in each case the words we use are likely to deceive our perception of what is actually going on in these big, booming, buzzing, confusions called communities.

Specifically regarding community viability or competence, what I am suggesting is that it may be a vast waste of effort to attempt to develop a generalized characteristic such as competence across all the varied aspects of the community--the type of thing which typically is an explicit goal of the community development worker. We must realize that if we are talking about competence in the field of educational programs we are usually talking about a different group of people, organizations, and networks than if we are talking about competence in developing a housing program or in industrial development or in the field of health services. Communities do not act as wholes, but they are activated by these various sectors--which Norton Long has treated so well in his article on "The Local Community as an Ecology of Games." The early community power structure studies, especially Hunter's study of Atlanta, gave what for most cities is a speciously misleading conception of the power structure as a single community "high command," as it were, which informally, largely through its economic power, "governed" all aspects of the community. All subsequent studies have found a power structure, but most of them have found that this power structure is not a single entity, but rather simply an aggregation of numerous specific power structures operating in all these different areas.

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[5] Brick, Yitzchak, The Relation of Vertical Ties to Community Competence, unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare, Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, February 1975. The quotation is from the summary abstract.

Further, there is a considerable body of evidence to indicate that stronger vertical ties actually are associated with greater plurality of power structures.[6] Hence, in this sense, the stronger the vertical ties, the more "democratic" the community.

The implication of all this for community competence would seem to be that one would do better, in working toward good communities, to home in on a particular sector of the community and help develop its competence, than to try to work for some generalized capacity of the whole community--as suggested not only by Cottrell, but by most practice theory in the field of community development and community organization. It seems to me that this is a most important issue, and I hope you will challenge my own statement of the issue in the subsequent discussion, as well as coming to grips with your own resolution of the problem.

4. Power Distribution

We are already well over into our fourth consideration in examining possible characteristics of the good community--that of power distribution. Here, recent research makes the problem somewhat less complicated than it seemed a few years ago. The problem was that while pluralistic power structures seemed to be more compatible with democratic principles than monistic power structures, there were some research data emerging that indicated that monistic power structures actually were associated with greater community competence, as measured by various so-called community outputs. This seemed to present concerned community people with a paradox. If you want competence, you must opt for a unified power structure, with most important decisions made by essentially the same group. If you wanted to spread the power over decision making, you might be impairing the community's ability to act. More recent research seems to point in exactly the opposite direction--that if anything, community competence is associated with a pluralistic power structure. Yitzchak Brick's research, alluded to earlier, indicated that the extent of pluralism of the power structure seemed to have little to do with community competence. The reasons for these apparently contradictory results are highly complex, and we do not yet clearly understand them all. My own assessment at this point would be that the shape of the power structure of the community has been highly exaggerated by most such studies, and that we would do better to look at the specific power structures in the different operating sectors of communities, and their competence, than to try to generalize from the mixed aggregate of such structures which is found in most so-called community power structures.

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[6] Walton, John, "The Vertical Axis of Community Organization and the Structure of Power," Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, Vol. 48, No. 3, December 1967, p. 362.

But the fact remains that all the studies have found that power over community decisions is unevenly distributed, and that only a small minority of community people participate actively and meaningfully in any important community decision, no matter what the sector. The relative powerlessness of poor people and Black groups is a current urban issue. But I do not know of a single study which attempts to answer the question of how power should be distributed in the good community, beyond the simple unexamined admonition: "More broadly than now."

Should all people have equal power? Can they? And if they can, at what price in terms of other desirable values?

5. Participation

We are already moving on to the fifth issue--participation. Most people who concern themselves with the community believe that it would be better if more people participated in community affairs. This has been especially true of community development workers.

Two interrelated circumstances are pertinent. On the one hand, as indicated by various power structure studies, large groups of citizens are systematically excluded from the decision-making process governing some of the most important community decisions. On the other hand, there is often widespread apathy, and many citizens do not participate, even where the opportunity is there for them.

But how widespread should participation be? Should all community people actively pursue all the important decisions that are made in the community? This would be mathematically impossible, for there is not time enough in the day for citizens to keep themselves well informed and fully participating on all issues. Some of them they must leave to others. Where are the limits, here? And if not everyone can participate in everything, what would be a suitable arrangement?

6. Degree of Commitment

A sixth issue, closely related to participation, is the matter of commitment. How important should my local community be to me? Should it be an overriding preoccupation, or is it purely secondary? Many community workers assume that the community should be an important focus for the individual's life. Cottrell writes: "Commitment to the community as a valued relationship that is worthy of substantial effort to sustain and enhance is an essential condition of the capability of the community to act effectively." And he adds an important truth:

> Commitment comes with genuine involvement. Increasing awareness of members of the significant roles they have in the collective life should enhance the sense of commitment . . . People may be encouraged and helped to achieve what appear to be significant roles in the community, but if they do not find that they are actually making a significant impact on the community processes and problems, the activity becomes meaningless.[7]

Cottrell's point is an important one, which pierces through the hoopla of giving citizens the appearance of participation when actually they are merely going through an empty ritual.

Lawrence Haworth, a philosopher who has come as close as anyone I know of to writing a systematic work on the good community, writes:

> If the city is to become a community, then the inhabitants must identify the settlement itself as the focal point of their individual lives.[8]

But in today's differentiated world of continental and intercontinental communications and transportation, and of changes of residence as people move from place to place, how realistic is it to presume that the local community will be the identification of overriding importance? And should it be? Should we all be localites rather than cosmopolitans, in Merton's terminology? And what of the many people who are very happy being cosmopolitans, equally at home in any community? Is there something deficient about them? Clearly, many people would not want to live in a community where people expected them to make the community the most important focus of their lives. Yet, obviously, there must be some people who consider the local community most important. How many? What proportion? And, how much is too much?

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[7] Cottrell, Leonard S, op cit, pp. 6-7.

[8] Haworth, Lawrence, The Good City (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963), p. 82.

And again, in view of the earlier discussion, I wonder whether the aim of commitment to the general community is a feasible aim; whether we should not instead be talking about specific avenues of participation and commitment in one sector or another. Generalized commitment, like generalized community competence, seems to me to constitute perhaps a fuzzy type of goal whose fuzziness is obscured by the simplicity of the image--commitment to the community.

7. Degree of Heterogeneity

Let us turn now to a matter which is even more perplexing: the matter of homogeneity or heterogeneity. How much difference would you have among people in your good community--and how much likeness?

Consider just a few random aspects of this controversial question. In the city planning field, as well as in many other fields, the idea of heterogeneity has long held moral sway. It has simply been accepted as a value that it is better for people to live in communities which are more or less a cross-section of the population than to live in economically or racially or ethnically segregated communities. Yet, interestingly, many of these same city planners show through their behavior that they themselves prefer to live in communities which are segregated, in the sense of being economically, racially, and ethnically homogeneous. They choose to live, according to the standard joke, where the man gets off the commuter train, gets into the wrong stationwagon, goes home, spends the night, and gets back onto the train the next morning never having noticed the difference.

Note also the gradual breakdown in the constitutionality of ordinances or covenants which exclude poor people by acreage zoning, and exclude

Blacks and other minorities by collusion or covenant. At the same time, note the rise in separatism on the part of Black and Chicano militants, as well as the more long-standing separatism practiced by whites in the form of segregation.

It is one thing to talk of the values of different life styles, the greater variety caused by a plurality of subcultures. But how much heterogeneity can a community stand and still retain some degree of coherence? If we really want a heterogeneous community, if we really want all kinds of people, from John Birchers to socialists, can we expect not to see the sparks fly once in awhile? And, in a different vein, how acceptable is the notion, often voiced today in one form or another, of homogeneous neighborhoods within heterogeneous communities?

8. Extent of Neighborhood Control

This brings us to the matter of neighborhoods, and their relation to the larger local community. Here we have an issue around which there is great controversy today. How much shall we invest in the neighborhood, as an important social unit, as distinguished from investing in the community as a whole. Haworth concludes:

> We would not want to decentralize urban institutions to such an extent that the city becomes a mere confederation of neighborhoods. But this danger appears so remote, at least in American cities, that it seems insignificant.[9]

In recent years, however, there has been a tremendous acceleration in the movement toward decentralization and neighborhood control. There are many reasons for this, one being the simple one that the complex larger cities are proving themselves more and more difficult to manage from centralized offices. Another is the increasingly recognized need, in many fields, to have services distributed closer to the recipient in his own neighborhood. Still another is a growing sense, both within racial ghettos and outside them, that control centers are too remote and insensitive, that neighborhood institutions have too long been run by outsiders in the larger community, that neighborhood people must have a larger say in the decisions that govern their lives. In short: "community autonomy," but in this case at the neighborhood level.

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[9] Ibid., p. 72.

An additional underlying reality is that many so-called city neighborhoods are larger than many entire cities, so that in one sense the autonomy that some people demand in the name of an entire community may be demanded with equal logic by the inhabitants of a neighborhood of similar size. If 10,000 people in a small city can control their own schools through their own board of education, why shouldn't 10,000 people in one of the many large neighborhoods of a metropolis have the same right? In any case, the question of the relative strength of the neighborhood versus that of the community has to be faced by anyone presuming to become specific about what he means by a good community.

9. Extent of Conflict

Now for a strange sort of issue: How much conflict will there be in your good community? Up until 10 years or so ago, the answer by most interested Americans would have been virtually: "None." For conflict was simply a dirty word. Conflict was something whose effect can only be destructive. Now, all that has changed.

One reason for the growing acceptance of conflict is the growing conviction in many quarters that strategies based on consensus play into the hands of the status quo and permit the continuation of gross injustices. Hence, though conflict may be less desirable as a method of change than collaborative change strategies based on consensus, it is considered by many to be preferable to its alternative, the seeking of consensus and hence the preservation of social injustices in substantially their current form.

It is no longer generally agreed that the good community is a community without conflict--which places conflict on the agenda as one of the issues we must face if we are to speak meaningfully about what a good community would be like.

10. The Question of Justice

The question of justice in the community--an ancient problem; recall that this was the very problem with which Plato deals in his Republic--is closely related to the matter of conflict which we have just been discussing.

It is also related to the question of whether we see the community simply as a unitary entity or whether we look beyond the single term to the complex reality underneath.

What I am referring to is the simple assumption of much community development work practice--that one is helping the community do something, and that since such help is obviously universally desirable, the community developer in his work is not faced with a problem of justice, but simply with the problem of how he can help the community enhance its well-being, presumably to the benefit of all concerned.

Blizek and Cederblom have written an important article on this subject, which I have suggested for your reading, along with Cottrell's article on "The Competent Community," an excellent article by Hans Spiegel, and one or two things of my own. Blizek and Cederblom make two important points. First, the community development worker cannot pass the buck of what is just on to community people and divest himself of his own responsibility as a moral agent. They give the example of a community development worker helping one community to clean up its river at the same time he helps another community upstream to build a chemical plant that increases the very pollution he is trying to eliminate with the first community. They also point out that what some people in the community may want to do, other people may oppose. He must thus make choices as a moral agent and must have some principle of justice to guide his action.[10] The decision to work with the existing power structure or to work toward modifying or drastically altering the existing power structure on behalf of those who cannot participate effectively is a moral decision which he cannot escape. To ignore it and work with the existing power structure is obviously to take a moral position. The problem is not whether he takes a position with respect to his conception of justice in the community. That he will do in any case. The problem is merely whether he is aware that he is doing it, and whether he has made a considered decision, weighing his chosen course against the alternatives.

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[10] Blizek, William L. and Jerry Cederblom, "Community Development and Social Justice," Journal of the Community Development Society, Vol. 4, No. 2, Fall 1973.

We have looked briefly at 10 types of questions to be examined in considering the good community and how to move toward attaining it.

One possible implication of this list of issues which must be addressed in considering the character of a good community is that there is no such thing as the good community. There are many good communities, all according to the specific combination of preferences which may be held regarding each of these issues, in an almost infinite variety of combinations. On so many of these issues, there is simply no way to demonstrate that one viewpoint is more valid or more moral than another.

It is, perhaps, for this reason that social scientists have avoided the pursuit of definitions of the good community. Nevertheless, a review of the issues raised here does substantiate their importance. Such issues must be faced, and unless we face them, we are working in the dark when we seek to build better communities.

But obviously, your own list of the important kinds of consideration that go into the make-up of a good community may differ from mine. I think many of mine have to be faced, but no doubt there are other issues as well. Let me suggest that both in our discussion right now and in the smaller groups later we consider not only any aspects of the questions and issues I have raised, but also things that you think should be added in trying to get a picture of what is desirable and possible for communities in today's complex society.

Suggested Additional Reading

Spiegel, Hans B. C. "Changing Assumptions about Community Change," Journal of the Community Development Society, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1971.

Warren, Roland L. Social Change and Human Purpose: Toward Understanding and Action. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1977.

Warren, Roland L. Truth, Love, and Social Change. Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1971.

Unit IV: What Does One Need to Know About Community Development?

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Overview of Unit IV

Experience by community development (CD) practitioners and research by scientists interested in community and social change have, over the years, indicated that community change agents should understand certain key concepts and master certain skills in order to be effective.

These concepts and skills can be learned and do make a great difference in the capability of agency field workers to work successfully in community development. There are individuals who, through a combination of reasons, are very successful at CD work without any formal training and education in these concepts--instinctively they seem to do the right things at the right time with the right people. But, most of us have to learn the hard way how to work with and within communities!

Some of the most important concepts deal with the environment within which community developers operate--the community. Others deal with the context within which communities make decisions. Finally, there are key concepts that pertain to the organizations for which community developers work.

These concepts do not have their origin in any one academic discipline or any other single place. They have evolved over time and are the result of explorations, research, and testing by many organizations, individuals, and disciplines. Several traditional disciplines have played key roles in defining and elaborating most of the concepts that will be covered in this unit--disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, economics, political science, social psychology, communications, urban planning, and social work.

Many organizations that have been engaged in CD efforts over the years also have contributed knowledge about purposeful community change. Some have contributed by testing concepts and others have discovered key concepts useful to CD practitioners.

The concepts covered in this unit will be a distillation of this great variety of concepts in the field of CD. Some are of a more abstract nature; some are very applied. All will contribute to a greater understanding of what communities are, how they can change, and how CD practitioners can help this change process.

Most of these concepts can be equated with a "tool kit" for CD practitioners and those who have CD roles--to be drawn from at appropriate times and places for specific purposes. It is hoped that the understanding of these concepts and how to use them will answer the question posed by the title of this unit, "What does one need to know about community development?"

Objectives for Unit IV

In answer to the question "What does one need to know about community development?" the objectives of this unit are:

1) to improve participants' understanding of major concepts necessary for insight into the processes of purposeful community change;
2) to assist participants in understanding the basic concepts related to providing agency assistance in community-planned change; and
3) to provide participants with opportunity to gain knowledge of, appreciation for, and some skills in the application of the relevant concepts involved in purposeful community change.

Instructional Outline

The material in this section is primarily an amplified outline of the concepts and ideas that form the content of Unit IV. The outline consists of short sentences, paragraphs, and quotations. Some sections of the Unit IV Content Outline are more detailed in their treatment of subject matter than others. This difference results from the lack of appropriate resource papers on some of the topics.

Presentations by resource persons or training leaders can be based on the outline, and participants can use the outline as a framework for note taking. Training leaders may wish to add concepts and ideas to the outline. Adding appropriate examples that fit the understanding of the audience and the conditions under which community development people work can greatly aid the understanding of the concepts presented.

The wide right-hand margin provides space for notes by training leaders and participants. Citations and footnotes identify source and resource documents. Overhead projector visuals are indicated by numbers in parentheses, e.g., (IV-2), next to the vertical dividing line.

Outline	Notes

If we are to increase our effectiveness as CD practitioners, we need to understand the answers to several key questions:

1) What is a community; what comprises it?
2) What are important aspects of community dynamics?
3) How are community decisions made and problems solved?
4) How can communities be helped in their decision making and problem solving processes?
5) How can I increase my effectiveness in CD and that of my agency's?

The key concepts relevant to this unit will be organized around each of these five questions.

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF A COMMUNITY

When we say that we are "community developers," it implies that we work within communities. We thus have to deal with the key concepts that can help us understand the environment within which we work.

The concept of community has undergone many changes over the years and has acquired a great diversity of meanings:

--A city mayor will extol the greatness of his "community," meaning the area within the city boundaries.

--A minister talks about his "community" and means his congregation.

--A university professor will refer to his "community" of scientists who deal with the same subject matter area as he does.

--A neighborhood worker will talk about his "community," consisting of several square blocks within the center of a metropolis.

--A suburbanite extols the beauty of his "community," a subdivision of 300 homes at the ege of a city.

And so on, the word "community" comes up in many conversations, meaning many different things to different people.

With this diversity of usage, is there a common understanding of what a community really is?

Many social scientists have wrestled with this topic over the past 100 years: sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, and other social scientists have studied what a community is and what its components are.

There is now a wealth of information that can help us understand the context within which we, as community developers, have to work.

In this section we will explore the general, accepted definitions of community.

This includes a look at what we can label as a "General Community" as well as "Functional Sub-communities."

In recent years, however, the traditional definitions of community have undergone changes, generally because communities themselves have undergone change. Thus, we will also explore the newer concepts about communities as social systems or systems of social systems.

This section will provide the basic background for the subsequent four sections.

TRADITIONAL DEFINITIONS OF COMMUNITY[1]

The General Community

Until recently there existed particularly in the minds of lay people and most agency workers a general consensus as to what a community was.

---

[1] This topic outline is based to a large extent on the resource paper by Kimball, which is included in this unit.

Generally, a community was considered to be so if it had the following key characteristics: (IV-1)

1) A group of people;
2) Shared identity, interest, attitude, and activities among these people;
3) Continuous and frequent interaction among these people; and
4) An identifiable geographic area within which these people lived, worked, played, and interacted.

In this view, emphasis is given to the:

--Territoriality of the community

--Interaction of people within these boundaries

Communities are seen as:

--Entities which are somewhat discrete

--Relatively self-sufficient

--Containing the essential institutions through which people interact and which serve the community's functions

For purposes of our discussion, we shall call these, as Kimball has, "General Communities" [11].

The significance of this view of community and its interrelationship with Functional Sub-communities will be discussed a little later.

Functional Sub-communities

In addition to General Communities, recognition also has been given to other kinds of communities which are more narrow in scope with respect to the functions they serve. Kimball labels this type of community as "Functional Sub-communities."

Even though Functional Sub-communities have the key characteristics of a General Community (group of people with shared interests, identity and attitudes, interacting frequently and continuously over time with an identifiable territory), they are different:

--Their boundaries do not usually coincide with those of general communities.

--Have much narrower scope and usually revolve around a major function. Are usually associated with major insitutions within a community (recreation, welfare, health, business, communication, etc.)

--May change more quickly--due to changing circumstances, membership, etc.

--Can be created relatively quickly--when there is a like-minded group of people who begin to interact toward common goals.

--Can disappear rather quickly--once their purposes have been achieved--although most endure over time, especially if associated with major community functions.

Implications

The concepts of the General Community and Functional Sub-community, though being slowly superseded by the concepts of communities as social systems (to be discussed in the next section), still have useful implications to those involved in CD roles.

The most important implication of these concepts is that they can help us understand the concept of community as a social system in a more graphic and pragmatic manner.

Understanding the concept of General and Functional Sub-community will help lead us to considering communities as complex social systems made up of many social systems.

In addition, there are other implications from these concepts of communities (which also apply to the concept of social system):

1) Most General Communities are made up of an array of Functional Sub-communities--which carry on the major functions of the community.

2) Most residents of a General Community belong (actively or passively) to many Functional Sub-communities.

   It is important to realize this because when we work with a group of people in a General Community, we sometimes don't have the "complete attention" of these people--they also have other things they need to attend to.

3) People can belong to Functional Sub-communities with conflicting goals.

   Individuals are usually not aware of this; but when through some actions prompted by CD efforts they do become aware of the conflict, problems occur. This might make them "drop out" of the CD efforts we as CD workers are working on.

4) When we start to work with a group of people and organizations on a CD project with specific goals, this group, in effect, becomes a new Functional Sub-community.

5) In many cases, agency and CD workers may be working simultaneously with several Functional Sub-communities within one or more General Communities.

6) The geographical pattern of Sub-communities can be mapped--can help us identify the makeup and extent of a General Community and indicate the interrelationship between them.

COMMUNITIES AS SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Over time the "traditional" ways of looking at communities have given people some difficulty--too many communities didn't "fit the mold."

This has been particularly true for large urban or metropolitan communities with their great size and complexity.

Thus, social scientists have wrestled with the concept of community and its applicability to all communities--small rural as well as large complex urban.

Various theories have been developed, but the one that seems the most acceptable in defining all communities and their complexity, is the theory which considers communities as social systems and as systems of social systems.

In this section we will draw primarily from two sources even though there are many who have contributed, particularly Sanders [20], to the view of communities as social systems.

The first part will draw heavily from Warren's book, The Community in America [24]. Warren has summarized and synthesized much of the literature and concepts related to communities as social systems.

The second part of this section will draw on Beal's paper, The Community Coordinator--The Social Milieu in which He Works [1]. This paper summarizes a slightly different perspective on communities as social systems: It elaborates on and applies the social system concepts developed by Loomis [12] to communities. Loomis's concept of social systems is covered because it has found wide applicability by rural sociologists and by those engaged in rural CD efforts.

These two perspectives are not incompatible. Warren's is, however, more recent, and he did consider many of Loomis's concepts in his view.

The community as a social system--Warren's perspective

Warren defines communities as follows: (IV-2)

> We shall consider a community to be that combination of social units and systems which perform the major social functions having locality relevance. This is another way of saying that by "community" we mean the organization of social activities to afford people daily local access to those broad areas of activity which are necessary in day-to-day living . . . These functions are:
>
> 1. Production--distribution--consumption
> 2. Socialization
> 3. Social control
> 4. Social participation
> 5. Mutual support [24, p. 9]

A social system is defined by Warren as: (IV-3)

> . . . a structural organization of the interaction of units which endures through time. It has both external and internal aspects relating the system to its environment and its units to each other. It can be distinguished from its surrounding environment, performing a function called boundary maintenance. It tends to maintain an equilibrium in the sense that it adapts to changes from outside the system in such a way as to minimize the impact of the change on the organizational structure and to regularize the subsequent relationships [24, p. 136].

In brief, a social system has the following key characteristics:

--An organization

--Interaction among member units

--Interaction over time

--Internal and external linkages

--Has a boundary and tries to maintain it

--Attempts to maintain an equilibrium as inside and outside changes occur

In order to more fully understand this perspective of community as a social system, several of the above and other items need to be elaborated on.

A social system consists of units.

In most simple social systems, such as a family, the units are individuals.

In complex social systems, the units can be individuals and/or organizations, which in turn are also social systems.

Thus, the community, being a very complex social system, is composed of both individuals and other social systems or sub-systems.

The community as a social system does have territoriality. The territory of communities is often difficult to delineate precisely but is present.

The greater the coincidence of territorial boundaries of the major sub-units or systems of the community, the easier the boundaries are to identify.

The greater the psychological identification that people have toward "their community," the easier it is to find and map the boundaries.

The units making up the community (individuals and sub-systems) interact among themselves and with other units outside the community.

Consequently, there are internal linkages between units in the community and external linkages between the community's units and outside systems.

The structured relationships among the interacting units in a community are maintained in various ways--formal and informal.

The formal ways include:

--The local political and governmental systems

--The mass media systems

--Special formal cross-community organizations which have community integration as their goal (e.g., welfare councils, ministerial associations, citizens councils, etc.)

--Special interest organizations which do not implicitly have as their goal community integration, but which perform this function as a secondary role (e.g., sports associations, church organizations, professional organizations, civic clubs, etc.)

--The family

Informal means by which interaction is maintained include the many informal community groupings found within any community, most based on individual friendship patterns.

The community as a social system--The Loomis perspective

Beal used Loomis's model of social systems and, to a limited extent, has adapted it.

Essentially, a social system is defined as a social structure composed of two or more individuals "whose relations to each other are patterned and mutually oriented." These individuals ". . . share common definitions and expectations. In short, a social system is a viable interacting human group" [1, p. 5].

All social systems (including the community) (IV-4) have certain structural "elements" or as Beal characterized them, "units of social structure and function" [1, p. 7].

The nine elements are: (IV-5)

1) "End" (goal or objective) - what the members hope to accomplish through the social system
2) "Facility" - the means the social system has to reach its "ends"
3) "Norm" - the standards of accepted behavior and actions governing the members
4) "Sanction" - rewards and penalties used by social system to maintain conformity in "ends," "facilities," "norms," and other elements
5) "Status-role" - a set of expectations for individuals occupying certain "positions" within the social system
6) "Rank" - relative status of members in the social system
7) "Power" - capability to control the actions of others--exercised by some members over others
8) "Belief" (knowledge) - the perceptions of members--their knowledge of the world
9) "Sentiment" - the feelings and attitudes of members--their beliefs (in the usual sense of of the word) [1, pp. 7-10]

In sum, these elements help describe the way the interaction among the members of a social system are structured.

In all social systems (including the community), there are six "master processes which integrate, stabilize and alter the relationships between elements through time" [1, p. 10].

These master processes are:

1) "Communications" - the process by which information, decisions, and directives are exchanged among members
2) "Boundary maintenance" - the process by which the social system maintains visibility, identity, and its "uniqueness"--it builds solidarity (we vs. them)
3) "Systemic linkage" - the process by which the social system maintains contact and interacts with other social systems
4) "Socialization" - the process by which the "social and cultural heritage is transmitted" over time, particularly to new members. This process teaches members about the system's beliefs, norms, ends, sentiments, etc.
5) "Social control" - the process by which the social system maintains uniform behavior--expels those with deviant behavior (or adapts it to itself by changing)
6) "Institutionalization" - the process of ordering behavior and making it predictable--of giving it structure [1, pp. 10-12]

In addition to these elements and master processes, there are three "general conditions for social action" or "attributes." They are:

1) "Territoriality" - the physical area within which the social system operates--its boundaries
2) "Size" - the number of members comprising the social system
3) "Time" - the past (history), present, and future of the social system [1, p. 12]

This model of a social system can be applied to communities. Communities can be analyzed according to the nine elements, the master processes and their attributes.

Such analyses can provide very useful insights about individual communities, as most communities will differ from one another as to how people interact within these elements, master processes, and attributes.

Implications

In the social system model developed by Loomis, communities and other interacting groups of persons are considered social systems.

Warren, however, went a step further and considers communities as a system of social systems.

This difference is crucial because, though small rural communities can often be considered and analyzed as a single social system, most communities--even larger rural communities--are much too complex. This complexity requires the view that they are a social system of systems. Thus, Warren's use of the word "unit," which can be an individual or a social system, is important.

However one wants to look at communities, the social system view does provide social scientists and CD practitioners (anybody working within a community helping to promote planned change) a framework that can be used to:

1) Analyze any community (examine it piece by piece) in order to better understand how it functions

   --Who is doing what and why

   --How are things done

   --Toward what end

2) Guide the CD practitioners in considering how, when, and where they can and should intervene

3) Understand and explain events that occur within a community

Another implication of the concept of communities as a system of social systems is that it helps practitioners recognize that they usually are not working with the community as a whole.

That is, we are usually working with a social system that is a sub-system of the community--or working with several sub-systems of the community.

As mentioned in the discussion of functional sub-communities, in many CD-type activities we are actually creating a new functional sub-community or, in other words, a new social system.

Knowing how social systems work can help us better understand how to create and maintain those social systems we create (e.g., an RC&D organization, a watershed development organization, a neighborhood organization, etc.).

WHAT ARE IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY DYNAMICS?

We have dealt with concepts that help us understand the basic composition of communities. We now consider some important aspects that relate to the internal and external dynamics of communities:

- --How communities are linked--internally and externally
- --How power is distributed within communities and roles power actors play within communities

We will conclude and round out this section with a recapitulation of some of the changes and transformations communities have undergone--particularly those which influence how we, as agency and CD workers, work with communities.

COMMUNITY LINKAGES

The concept of community linkages, internal and external--is best understood when the community is viewed as a social system composed of many units, most of them sub-systems.

Warren classifies two kinds of linkages: the vertical and the horizontal linkages and a vertical and horizontal pattern of linkages.

He defines these in the following manner:

> The term vertical pattern is used to indicate . . . a type of relationship shared to a greater or lesser extent by all local units, some very emphatically through clear systemic relationships to extracommunity systems, others less strongly bound in systemic ties to extracommunity systems, others bound not so much to extracommunity social systems as to cultural patterns in the surrounding culture.
>
> We shall define a community's horizontal pattern as the structural and functional relation of its various social units and sub-systems to each other [24, p. 162].

Vertical linkages

It is important to note that the vertical pattern of linkages is not from the community as a whole to another hierarchy above, but a pattern of linkages from different community sub-systems to systems outside the community.

Beal refers to this as "differentiated vertical linkages" [1, p. 13].

Thus, within the community most local social sub-systems are linked in some way to the "outside world through vertical linkages" [1, p. 13]. (IV-6)

e.g.--retail store, part of a multi-state chain or national chain

--local bank having correspondent ties to major banks in large urban areas

--local agencies directly linked to regional, state, and even federal bureaucracies

--fraternal organization, part of a national or even international organization

--local manufacturing plant, subsidiary of a national company, which in turn is a subsidiary of a multi-national corporation

--and so on

There are few social systems in a community which don't have extracommunity or vertical linkages.

e.g.--local bridge club

--neighborhood association

--lake-resident association

--a sportsman's club

Generally, there is a trend for purely local social systems to build vertical ties over time.

--What started as a local bridge (card) club becomes affiliated with a state and national association.

--A sportsman's club becomes associated with state or national organizations.

--Etc.

Local social systems vary in the kinds of extracommunity or vertical linkages they have to other social systems:

--Some have loose linkages; some have very direct vertical linkages (e.g., Baptist Church versus Catholic Church).

--Some have linkages at many levels; some have linkages to a few levels (e.g., sportsman's club linked only to a state federation versus a Kiwanis Club linked to a sub-state organization, state, multi-state, national, and international organizations).

--Some have linkages to one hierarchy, others to many hierarchies (e.g., a civic club versus a township government).

Horizontal linkages

The horizontal pattern of linkages are those links that are established among units (individuals or community sub-systems) within the community that help perform its major functions (the functions described by Warren of production-distribution-consumption, socialization, social control, social participation, and mutual support)[24, p. 9].

Examples of horizontal linkages among local social systems are: (IV-7)

--Interaction of public and private organizations through the United Chest or United Way efforts

--Interaction of businessmen and organizations in a Chamber of Commerce or industrial development organization

--Interaction of individuals and organizations in an urban renewal project

Social systems (including communities) vary in the amount of internal linkages they have among member units (individuals and/or organizations).

Beal developed a typology of four kinds of social systems based on the amount and strength of internal versus external linkages [1, pp. 16-19]. They are social systems with:

1) "Complete internal orientation" - no or few outside linkages
2) "High internal orientation" - some outside links
3) Even "internal and external orientation"
4) "High external orientation" - maximum outside linkages

The degree to which different local social systems have an internal to external orientation will influence the extent to which they relate to community-wide activities, functions, programs, and extracommunity systems.

In most communities today, there are more local social systems which have vertical linkages than horizontal linkages--i.e., most are more oriented to extracommunity systems than to other social systems within the community.[2]

Some implications

In the previous section on community social systems, we pointed out the importance of identifying relevant social systems.

In addition to identifying relevant social systems, it is very important to identify the linkages these have:

--The internal linkages

--The external horizontal linkages among social systems

--The external vertical linkages to extracommunity systems

The greater the horizontal linkages among relevant social systems, the easier it will be to involve them in concerted decision making and action toward common goals.

The greater the vertical linkages among relevant social systems, the more difficult it will be to involve the social systems in concerted decision making and action.

On the other hand, social systems with strong vertical linkages do have ties to outside systems which might have resources that would be beneficial to the community.

Knowledge about linkage patterns will help agency and CD workers identify:

--Which social systems are linked and which aren't linked

--Where new linkages are needed in order to achieve needed decision making and action

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[2] This is one of the major results of the "Great Change" as conceptualized by Warren [22;23;24;25] and discussed in Unit II and briefly reviewed later in this section.

- --Which social systems can be involved first and more easily
- --Which have access to outside social systems that might be beneficial to needed action

The most important implication of the fact that most relevant community social systems have stronger vertical ties to extracommunity systems than to each other is that much of the work in CD will involve the building and strengthening of horizontal linkages within communities.

In fact, Warren defines CD as "a deliberate and sustained attempt to strengthen the horizontal pattern of a community" [24, p. 324].

The greater the pattern of horizontal linkages, the better a community is able to deal with internal and external conditions, issues, problems, and opportunities.

In regard to relevant social systems within a community, we need to remember that the agencies we work with, as well as any agency or public organization, is a social system. We are not only considering community-based organizations.

Thus, when we point out the need for building horizontal linkages among social systems, this includes linkages among relevant agencies.[3]

COMMUNITY POWER ACTORS AND STRUCTURE[4]

Social power

Research and experience has shown over the years that in social systems, including communities, certain individuals (or, in the case of communities, certain individuals and/or sub-systems) influence decisions and actions of the social system to a greater extent than others.

Thus, certain individuals and organizations have more social power than others within a community. These have been named "community power actors" by Powers [15].

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[3] Interagency cooperation is dealt with in greater detail in a later section of this unit.

[4] This topic outline is heavily based on the resource paper by Powers, which is included in this unit.

Generally, social power means "the capacity to control the actions of others" (as defined by Loomis [12]) or "a party's capacity for acting in such manner as to significantly affect or condition another's response" (as defined by Cook [3]).

Social power can come from: (IV-8)

1) Authority - which is the right to control others, ascribed to a position
2) Control of resources - that can be used to influence control of others. Resources can be such things as:
   - --control of certain skills
   - --knowledge
   - --obligations owed
   - --reputation
   - --wealth of material resources
   - --control of jobs and credit
3) A combination of authority and control of resources

Social power can be exercised in two ways:

1) Coercion--or raw power--i.e., forcing people to do something they would not otherwise do
2) Influence--or controlled power--i.e., using resources and authority to influence actions of others

In fact, most power actors use a subtle combination of coercion and influence.

Their ability to remain as power actors depends greatly on being able to strike the proper balance between these two methods.

It is important for agency and CD workers to recognize this. Anything they do to upset this balance will probably result in being a threat to these power actors.

This means that CD workers need to be responsive to suggestions from power actors about the way CD efforts are carried out and their direction.

Power structures

Over the years, different patterns of social power have been identified. These patterns of social power have been labeled "power structures" of a community. Powers has summarized these patterns into several categories [15]: (IV-9)

1) "One person" power structure - one individual or sub-system controls all decision making in a community. This is very rare today.

2) The "tightly knit group" power structure - a small group with high interaction and closely linked together controlling all or most community decisions. Again, this type of power structure, in the complex community social system of today, is relatively rare. Some communities still seem to have such a power structure, but it is more an illusion than reality.

3) The "split community" power structure - two opposing power structures vying for dominance in community decision making. These opposing power structures can be structured in similar ways as the other community power structures.

4) The "power pool" power structure - a pool of individuals who have influence on community decisions. This is a relatively loosely knit group of people. Usually most know each other and have frequent interaction with each other Not all of those with power become involved in all community decisions. This or variations of this category are the more usual kinds of power structures existing in communities.

It might be well to note that these patterns apply primarily to rural communities or relatively small urban communities.

It is difficult to categorize the patterns of large urban or metropolitan communities in such relatively simple schemes because of the complexity of the social systems involved, their number, size, and influence.

Some generalizations and implications

Several generalizations can be made about power structures and power actors:

1) Not all power actors are involved in every community issue. Thus, depending on the issue being dealt with, the relevant power actors have to be identified.

2) Power actors usually are in communication with each other over time. Thus, power actors can serve as an informal channel of communication within the community for reaching power actors. In fact, they often constitute a definite social system--one that has durability over time, even if individual members change.

3) Power actors change over time.

4) Power actors change in the amount of influence they can exert over time. Points 3 and 4 thus imply that when power actors are identified at one time period, this information is probably valid for a limited time.

5) Power actors do not necessarily hold visible positions of authority in a community. Many stay "behind the scenes." Power actors usually have power because of influence and not because they have authority. Thus, in general, the power actors are not highly visible in a community; it takes some "digging" to identify them.

Research on power actors, particularly in smaller and more rural and stable communities, has shown that individual power actors tend to have certain characteristics: (IV-10)

1) They are usually males.

2) They are generally older than the average adult (over 40).

3) They have above-average income.

4) They are above average in levels of formal education.

5) They are in higher status occupations; many are professionals and businessmen, many self-employed and owners or executives of business.

6) They are long-time residents of their communities.

7) They have control or access to resources such as: jobs, credit, money, land, mass media, etc.

CD practitioners have recognized over the years the important roles that power actors can and do play in community decision making and action.

Power actors can:

1) Help determine the outcome of decisions

   --can facilitate and promote the choice of an alternative that is advantageous or disadvantageous to the community

   --can block decisions

2) Help determine the kinds of resources that can be tapped for needed action

   --can facilitate access to resources

   --can block and prevent access to needed resources

3) Help determine what kind of outside CD efforts are attempted in a community

   --can facilitate

   --can block

Identifying power actors

It is apparent that it would be very useful to agency and CD workers to know who (or what sub-systems) constitute the power structure in communities they work with.

Over the years, various methods have been devised that would identify individual community power actors. In general, there are four major methods: (IV-11)

1) The positional approach
2) The reputational approach
3) The event analysis or decisional approach
4) The social participation or social activity approach

There are advantages and disadvantages to using each approach, and all have implications to CD field workers.

The event analysis and social participation methods are rather complex and require time and trained manpower. Thus, for CD practitioners they are not usually feasible even though, if properly done, they can give the most accurate picture of who the real power actors are.

The positional and reputational approaches are much simpler to conduct so can be done by agency and CD workers.

Those who anticipate working in certain communities over time should consider doing both positional and reputational inventories of power actors every couple of years. The results are very useful in all phases of CD.

In using these two approaches, a few advantages and limitations need to be considered:

1) Positional approach: An inventory of people occupying visible positions of leadership in the community, particularly elective and governmental positions

   --is simple, takes little time, and costs are small

   --identifies visible power actors

   --doesn't identify less visible power actors who can and do have greater power

2) Reputational approach: Uses a process of interviewing people in the community and asking who has most influence[5]

   --simple and inexpensive method--takes more time than positional approach

   --will identify less visible power actors as well as those accupying formal, visible positions

   --might identify people who only have reputation for having power, but don't

   --does not identify new power actors, who have not built up a reputation

   --tends to not identify specialized power actors involved in specific issues

THE TRANSFORMATION OF COMMUNITIES

The concept of the "Great Change," amply developed by Warren in many of his writings [23; 24; 25] and discussed in Unit III, has a great many implications to understanding the concept of community, today.

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[5] For a more detailed discussion on this method, as well as how to conduct such a study, see the resource paper by Powers, which is included in this unit.

In this section we will briefly review the "Great Change" and discuss some of its implications to community understanding and CD work.

Brief review of the "Great Change"

The concept of the "Great Change" is very useful to help explain the massive transformation that communities have undergone over time.

Without understanding the extent of this transformation, agency and CD workers won't have as clear a conception of what communities are and their dynamics.

Warren discussed the "Great Change" in terms of seven major interrelated aspects:[6] (IV-12)

1) Division of labor: The increasing specialization of individual occupations which results in less interaction among the people living in a locality and the formalization of interaction among people.
2) Differentiation of interests and associations: Which is closely related to the division of labor phenomenon. The major implication of this is the increased shift of interaction among units in the community based on proximity, toward interaction patterns based on specialized interests, which are not necessarily confined within the community.
3) Increasing systemic relationships to the large society: An outcome of the differentiation of interests and associations and the division of labor. These two conditions have tended to increase the interaction of local community people and systems to systems outside the community, usually to higher hierarchies.
4) Bureaucratization and impersonalization: Results from a combination of the need for efficiency in complex organizations, the desire for equity in interactions and consequent depersonalization of transactions to avoid appearances of favoritism. This aspect of the "Great Change" has led to complex, formal organizations and all their rules, regulations and procedures, which in turn helped promote the above changes.

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[6] The "Great Change" is discussed in much greater detail in the resource paper by Warren included in this unit.

5) Transfer of functions to profit enterprise and government: As a result of the previous mentioned changes with the effect that many functions which used to be performed by individuals and families are now performed by government. In effect, people and families are less and less self-sufficient in performing major and even minor functions, such as socialization, education, production of food, manufacturing of clothing, building of housing, etc. A similar transfer of community functions which used to be performed at the local community level toward extracommunity systems has also been occurring.

6) Urbanization and suburbanization: The tremendous shifts in population that have occurred over the past 100 years--from rural to city centers, from city centers to suburbs, and now a trend back to rural areas. These shifts of population have affected the people involved, especially in their values.

7) Changing values: As a result of the other changes (and in turn accelerating many of these changes), which has resulted in some very different values being prevalent in society and communities today than there were twenty or even ten years ago.

Implications

Several aspects of the "Great Change" are particularly relevant to the concept of community and to the practice of CD.

The major implication of the "Great Change," as Warren [23;24] points out, is that this has led to an "increasing orientation of local community units toward extracommunity systems of which they are a part," which has resulted in drastic declines in "community cohesion and autonomy."

This means that the horizontal pattern of linkages in communities has been decreased and weakened; whereas, the vertical pattern of linkages has increased and grown stronger.

These increased vertical patterns and decreased horizontal patterns of linkages make it more difficult for CD workers to work effectively toward planned change within communities.

The difficulties arise out of two major areas:

--First, the effort that has to be expended in forming the necessary horizontal linkages between units in a community, needed to achieve certain desirable goals.

--Second, the frustration of having to deal with extracommunity systems, which not only determine what the local units, to which they are tied, can and will do, but whose decisions have great impact on local communities, often in opposite directions than those desired by the community.

The changing patterns of linkages also have clear implications to who the community power actors are and where they are located.

Although most studies of community power structure have concentrated in the identification of individuals within a local community who have social power, it is inevitable that for most communities there are many power actors outside the community who have more power than any local power actors (e.g., the corporation president who makes a decision to locate a new plant or close a plant in a community hundreds or even thousands of miles away; or a U.S. Department of Defense functionary who decides that a certain military facility, which happens to be the main economics base of a community, be closed down, etc.).

It thus means that in CD we need to be aware not only of local power actors, but also of power actors in extracommunity systems--in some cases, these latter need to be identified and worked with more extensively than the former.

In fact, many CD efforts are aimed specifically at ameliorating impacts of changes "imposed" by extracommunity systems and helping communities adapt to these changes.

Another way of describing this situation is that the locus of decision making for communities has shifted upwards to a large extent.

As Warren points out, local communities have lost a great deal of their autonomy. Communities are not self-sufficient anymore, and it is foolish to think of any community "going it alone" and "pulling itself up by the bootstraps" [22]. This is wishful thinking, romantic, and sometimes detrimental if acted upon by communities and community developers.

This is an important implication. There are too many individuals and organizations who disregard it. They expend a great amount of energy and resources--their own and those of the community--with minimal results and much frustration!

The "Great Change" also implies major changes in the number and extent of social systems operating within and outside the community system.

Thus, the work of CD workers becomes increasingly complex.

There are more and more sub-systems and outside systems that have to be taken into account, that have to be contacted and involved, and to which ties of one kind of another have to be built.

HOW ARE COMMUNITY DECISIONS MADE AND PROBLEMS SOLVED?

As community developers, we imply that we want to help communities develop into becoming better places to live, work, play, etc.

In this section of Unit IV, we will attempt to deal with the processes by which communities "develop" in a purposeful way.

Two major concepts will be covered in this section:

--Community decision making

--The community problem solving process

COMMUNITY DECISION MAKING[7]

Regardless of how CD is defined, an integral part of it involves decision making by the "community" or by groups within the community.

In fact, most community developers consider one of their main roles that of helping communities make better decisions.

Becoming involved in the decision making process of a community is no easy task.

To become involved in it means to become involved in controversy, particularly if the community is actually attempting to deal with the important issues facing it.

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[7] The content of this section is based to a large extent on the resource paper by Gessaman, which is included in this unit.

If community developers are to help communities or groups within communities or individuals improve their public decision making capabilities, they need to understand:

--What community decision making is

--What and who is involved

--How they can best help or intervene in this process

We'll begin with a brief overview of decision making, then take a closer look at six somewhat different perspectives on community decision making--each one providing us with certain valuable insights --and conclude by discussing overall implications.

Overview

Decision making means making a choice between two or more alternatives. In the community or its component systems, choices can be about:

--What are the problems and/or issues facing the community?

--What is the priority importance of various problems or issues?

--Which alternative solution should be used?

--Which alternative resources should be used?

--Who should be involved?

--Who will benefit and to what extent?

These choices are constantly confronting communities.

There is a never-ending number of choices that have to be made (including the choice of not making a choice).

It seems (and is usually so) that each choice made will lead to more choices that have to be made.

In fact, Schaller described decision making as exchanging one or more problems for a set of as yet unknown problems that will result of the decision [21].

That is, no one decision is a "final" decision that settles things "once and for all"! Thus, we can look upon community decision making as a never-ending process.

Community decision making can also be thought of as an ongoing process of managing the resources available to the community. That is, an ongoing process by which choices are made as to how the different resources available to the community are expended or conserved in order to deal with the problems and issues facing it.

Thus, when we talk about improving community decision making, we imply the improvement of how a community and its subunits make choices or the improvement of how a community manages its resources over time.

Six perspectives on decision making (IV-13)

With this brief background, let's take a closer look at six somewhat different perspectives on community decision making. These have been developed by different people, and we can gain valuable insights from each one.

1. The Power Actor or Power Structure Perspective: This perspective implies a small number of "power actors" dominating community decision making. However, it's a rare community where a few individuals control all decision making.

What this perspective really attempts to relay is:

--Even though no one group of power actors is involved in all decision making, there are different groups of power actors involved in different aspects of community decision making.

--Each type of decision has its own group of power actors.

--For each different decision-making area there is a different group of people who have and exercise power in making decisions.

--The more differentiated the community, the more different groups of power actors (usually the bigger the community, the more differentiated it is).

--Power actors do change over time. They serve only at the "pleasure" of the people they "represent."

--The ability of most power actors to remain in power depends on obtaining support by residents or organizations within the community.

--New power actors emerge as individuals become identified and supported by social, political, or economic groups or constituencies. As they demonstrate capability in performing their roles, they strengthen and broaden their constituency support and gain additional power.

This perspective implies to community developers that in order to become involved in community decision making, they have to identify who the relevant power actors are and work with them.

The key is to find the right power actors for any particular decision area being dealt with within a community.

It also implies that improved community decision making cannot occur unless these relevant power actors are involved.

2. The Differential Participation Perspective: This perspective is somewhat related to the first but focuses more on a wider group of community residents who tend to be actively involved in community decision making.

Hahn in several of his writings crystallizes this perspective [7;8;9].

He points out that studies of decision making have shown that [7]:

--Less than 5 percent (probably only about 1 percent) of the population participate actively and continuously in community decision making.

--Nearly half of the population has no involvement--not even by voting.

--About a quarter of the population becomes involved only by voting.

--The remainder become involved by voting and other forms of decision making activities.

This lack of involvement by most in communities implies that CD workers who attempt to obtain "broad citizen involvement" are probably spinning their wheels, wasting time and energy that could be used in other efforts.

This perspective implies that community developers, when working with any community, need to seek out those who already are highly involved and who are predisposed to becoming involved. The studies cited by Hahn indicate that those who do participate are predominantly professional people with high levels of education [7;9].

In its implications, this perspective is quite similar to the first one, which implies the strong need to work with power actors.

3. The Process Perspective: In this view community decision making is looked upon as a process that is episodic in nature.

It occurs as a result of groups of people working through a sequence of steps that:

--starts with a recognition or interest in some issue, concern, or problem

--ends up with the implementation of a decision

--which, in turn, causes interest recognition by the same or another group of persons

Key to this process is that for any group that recognizes an interest and attempts to influence a decision regarding that interest, there is usually a counter group opposing the decision being contemplated.

The outcome is a decision which is:

--a clear victory for the proposing or opposing group,

--a compromise acceptable to both, or

--a stalemate where no decision on the original issue is reached.

In typical communities, many different decision making processes are operating simultaneously in different stages.

They involve different groups (proposing or opposing); but many are interlinked, especially through individuals who are involved in two or more decision processes.

This particular perspective on community decision making has been developed and explained by Hahn [8] but is supported by others, particularly Warren [24] where he discusses purposive community change and the matter of "Public Interest."

Warren indicates that though community developers expouse and try to foster a consensus approach to community decision making, the reality is that most substantive community decisions involve proposing and opposing factions in varying degrees of conflict [24, pp. 375-402].

A few implications of this perspective for CD practitioners include:

- --Many issues can stimulate the beginning of the decision making process.
- --Today, in many if not most cases, the issue or "interest" starting the process is brought in from outside the community by government programs, agency personnel, etc.
- --For every proposed decision, there will be opposition of varying degrees.
- --Individuals who engage in this decision making process tend to be specialized and participate in decisions they have an interest in.
- --Each decision will probably involve different combinations of people and groups.
- --Thus, CD workers should not expect to find one group of persons who can and will deal with all decisions.
- --Individuals and groups go through the process (either proposing or opposing) with great differences of ease.
- --Individuals and groups can learn by experience or by being taught how to go through a decision making process.

4. The Holistic Perspective: In this perspective, community decision making is viewed as a process that involves all aspects of the community--a community of sub-systems and linkages.

This view proposes the following:

- --Decision making starts with community-defined problems.
- --All community problems are related.
- --Each community problem is linked to all other parts and problems within the community.
- --Social and economic relationships within the community provide most of the linkages.
- --Any decision affecting one part will affect other parts of the community to varying degrees.

Within this perspective, CD workers are urged to provide assistance to communities in overall decision making, especially by working with leaders who have a broad community perspective and who have many horizontal linkages.

Working with such would lessen the chance of decisions made being too "narrow" and which would cause unanticipated negative repercussions in other sectors of the community.

This perspective can pose a few problems, however:

- --Problem solving and decision making can become too complex--hindering the process.
- --This approach to decision making requires a high degree of involvement over time--which can be very difficult to maintain.
- --There is a tendency to try to get the whole system (community) to act together in "lock step"--can lead to very few accomplishments.
- --As Warren points out, it might be futile in most large communities to develop overall competence in community decision making [22].

5. The Cost of Decision Perspective: This perspective takes a very novel view of community decision making, concentrating on the costs associated with decision making and how to minimize them.

It applies the concepts of cost--used in economics--to the concepts of decision making--used by political scientists.

This approach was started by Buchanan and Tullock [2] and amplified by others. This perspective is well summarized by Gessaman [5].

Briefly, this view is based on two principles:

(1) Decision making is not free (there are costs):

- --There are costs to the individual associated with participating in decision making (costs of time and actual dollar expenses).
- --There are costs which are borne by those who are affected by decisions made, especially by those who feel it was an inappropriate decision (e.g., increased tax assessment to pay for development of a lake and public park that individual will never utilize).

(2) Individuals are rational and seek to minimize their total cost of decision making:

--The costs of making the decision

--The costs of the consequences of the decision, especially the inappropriate decision

This view of decision making demonstrates that as the number of people involved in a decision increases, the costs of participation will increase. On the other hand, the less people involved, the greater the costs of inappropriate decisions.

This phenomenon arises out of the fact that all people are different--different values, ideas, priorities, etc.

Thus, if all were the same, only one could represent all (minimizing the costs of decision making); but if all were different, all should be involved (maximizing the costs of decision making).

Also, since all people are different, the less involved in decision making, the more people would feel that the decision made was inappropriate; the more people involved, the lower the costs of inappropriate decisions.

The object in this view is to balance out these two trends so that overall costs (of making decisions and of inappropriate decisions) are minimized.

This is done by finding out the minimum and maximum number of people needed to represent the community in order to make decisions. Total costs are highest when just a few are involved or when many are involved.

Important factors in balancing these two trends are the complexity of the decision being contemplated and how controversial it is.

--The more complex, the higher the costs because of the greater need for involvement.

--The more controversial, the higher the costs of the consequences of the decision, particularly for those who feel it was inappropriate.

This view of decision making implies three things to agency and CD workers:

(1) The need to find out the "right number" of people who should be involved in a decision

(2) The need for CD workers to help communities or their sub-systems deal with priority decisions --those which have the most impact on the long-run welfare of the community. This helps

minimize overall decision making costs as communities or their sub-systems don't waste resources on low-priority issues and problems, which might preclude them from handling major issues and problems.

(3) Reduction of costs of decision making (removing barriers) can be an effective means of stimulating participation.

6. The Individual Centered Perspective: This perspective has been developed by Gessaman and Rose [6]. This view also has several assumptions -about the individual and society:

--The primary function of our social, political, and economic systems is the generation of individual satisfaction with the totality of life.

--As in the previous perspective on costs of decision making, the individual is assumed to be rationally self-interested as he or she participates in decisions having an impact on personal well-being.

--The rational self-interested individual is a participant in both individual or group decision making on a wide variety of matters.

--Values, beliefs, and attitudes of individuals are strong determinants in individual decision making and are reflected in group decision making.

As individuals participate in day-to-day life in a community, they take part in such decisions as:

--Individual decisions on location of employment and type and extent of productive activities.

These decisions--in aggregate--determine mix and quantity of products or services produced in the community.

--Individual decisions on location of residence, type and extent of consumption of products and services, and savings and investment.

These--in aggregate--determine mix and quantity of products or services demanded.

--Group decisions, including governmental, such as on taxation, regulation, availability, and quality of public-sector goods and services.

Individual and group decisions are interrelated; they cannot be considered in isolation.

Rational and self-interested individual decisions, when aggregated, may produce the need for group decisions (e.g., many individuals decide to locate in open, rural land necessitating group decisions on road paving, water and sewer, etc.).

Also, as group decisions are made, the arena for individual decision making is changed, and often many individual decisions become necessary to respond to changed circumstances (e.g., to follow above example, if a water and sewer is decided upon, the individuals affected must abide by them. Then decisions will have to be made on how to pay for connections, who will do the work, or (possibly) to sell and move elsewhere).

This perspective on community decision making has several implications:

--Individual decisions and their impact as an aggregate cannot be disregarded or dismissed in CD.

--Individual decisions are easier to make than group decisions, primarily because apparent benefits are more evident.

--Group decisions can only be arrived at by negotiations and compromise between rational, self-interested individuals.

--Linkages must be maintained between individuals in communities for purposes of information exchange and input to group decision making.

Some concluding comments and implications

A general conclusion we can reach is that there are no easy answers to how to best secure proper community decision making and how to improve this process.

Many people from different fields have studied community decision making, and different theories and approaches have been developed--some even contradictory.

However, with some flexibility and an open mind, we can learn from all these views on community decision making.

Some general implications we can draw from all the reviewed perspectives or models on community decision making are:

--All individuals are involved in community decision making. As individuals, for individual purposes or as participants in group decisions for group benefits (CD workers need to remind themselves of this).

- --Rational, self-interested individual decisions, when aggregated, can have negative consequences to the group (community).
- --Group decisions will limit or expand the allowable scope of individual decision making.
- --Individuals become involved in group decision making when they perceive benefits to them for participating (self-interest).
- --Decision making incurs costs to those who participate and those affected by decisions made. We, as CD workers, need to help keep these costs down.
- --There are linkages within communities--among subsystems--and decisions in one place will affect others. Community development workers do need to recognize this; it can be very helpful to the community in recognizing unanticipated secondary consequences in other sub-systems.
- --Community development can have an aim of helping communities reduce barriers to and costs of future decision making in communities by helping community leaders learn about decision making, by increasing intra-community linkages, by promoting new decision making structures and procedures, etc.

THE COMMUNITY PROBLEM SOLVING PROCESS[8]

Closely allied to community decision making is the community problem solving process.[9] In fact, some authors equate the two.

Background

Community decision making and community problem solving are closely allied because they have the same roots, both having developed out of the "Scientific Method," which evolved as a method of inquiry in the 1600s and 1700s.

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[8] The content of this section is heavily based on the resource paper by Kimball and Thullen, which is included in this unit.

[9] The word process, as used here, refers to a series of logical, identifiable, interrelated, and sequential steps which result in certain outcomes. See Unit II for a comparison between this meaning and that which refers to social interaction within groups.

The Scientific Method was and remains a process of solving problems--"problems" being gaps in knowledge.

Originally used primarily in the inquiry of new knowledge for knowledge's sake, it eventually was used in an applied nature in order to formulate solutions to practical, everyday problems.

In fact, the application of the Scientific Method contributed significantly to the "Great Change" described by Warren [23;24;25]--namely, to industrialization, mechanization, efficient production of food and fiber, increased transportation and communication, specialization of function, urbanization, etc.

Thus, the Scientific Method, applied to many areas as a rational problem solving process, led to new names such as: the "Experimental Design Process," the "Educational Programming Process," the "Planning Process," as well as the "Decision Making Process" and the "Community Problem Solving Process"--or the "Community Development Process."

All these have common elements, including:

--Element(s) dealing with definition of the "problem"

--Element(s) dealing with examination of alternative courses of action

--Element(s) dealing with making a choice among alternatives

--Element(s) dealing with the implementation of the decision making

--Element(s) dealing with evaluation of action, its consequences, and whether desired outcomes occurred.

As mentioned, some equate the community decision making process with the community problem solving process.

As used here, there is a difference. Community decision making is considered in a more narrow sense. In decision making the emphasis is more on the choice to be made and how it is made, as well as who makes the choice.

The community problem solving process is broader:

--It includes decision making at many points.

--It places greater emphasis on the action necessary to implement the decision made.

--It places greater emphasis on following up and evaluating outcomes to see if they were as anticipated and desired.

We are using the term community problem solving process where many others would use the term community development process.

Two reasons for this "new" terminology are:

1) We wanted to avoid the confusion in semantics about "community development process" where different people have different conceptions (c.f., Unit II).

2) We wanted to make several points by using the new term, namely:

   --All communities (or sub-systems) are confronted with problems.

   --Communities (or sub-systems) can do something about these problems.

   --There is a process they can utilize for dealing with problems.

Elements of the community problem solving process

Again, as in so many other concepts, different people have developed "different" community problem solving (or CD) processes.[10]

However, there is enough consensus about the key steps involved, and most recognize the following:

1) Examining the Community (or Sub-system) Situation (IV-14)

   --What are the physical and natural conditions?

   --What are the trends--social, economic, political, etc.?

   --How do people feel about community conditions --issues--its future?

   --What kinds of resources are available to the community--natural, man-made, institutional, human, etc.?

   Studies and inventories are the methods usually used in this step.

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[10] The resource paper by Kimball and Thullen included in this unit provides a more detailed account of these variations.

2) Arriving at Goals for the Community (or Subsystem)

   --What do people want their community to be --big, small, growing, stable, etc?

   --Is there a theme--an underlying goal for the community?

   Considerable group interaction is needed here.

3) Identifying Key Problems, Issues, Opportunities

   --What are the "gaps" between what is and what should be?

   --What is giving the community the most difficulty?

   --What issues keep reappearing in community discussions?

   A combination of further studies and group interaction is needed here.

4) Determining Problem or Issue Priorities

   --What are "problems" which are only symptoms of deeper problems?

   --Which problem (or issue), if solved (resolved), would make the greatest difference?

   --Which problem, if solved, would reverse negative trends?

   --What problems are residents interested in working on at this time?

   Again, a combination of studies and group interaction is needed.

5) Considering Alternative Solutions to Priority Problems

   --What alternatives are there?

   --What are their costs?

   --What are their consequences?

   --What resources (within and outside the community or sub-group) are available for each alternative (within and outside)?

   A combination of studies and group interaction is needed.

6) Selecting the Most Appropriate Courses of Action

--Which alternative costs less?

--Which alternative has fewer negative consequences?

--Which is most feasible (politically, economically, legally, socially)?

--For which are there available resources?

The most important method in this step is group interaction.

7) Developing an Action Plan

--What has to be done--when--where?

--Who will do it?

--What timetable?

Group interaction, but on a smaller scale than the preceeding steps, is key in this step.

8) Implementing the Plan

--Organization

--Supervision

--Follow through

Group action--delegation of functions by decision making group is important.

9) Evaluating the Results

--What can be measured?

--What was accomplished?

--What are the consequences?

--What do outcomes suggest for future?

--What should have been done differently?

Studies followed by some group interaction are key to this step.

10) Repeating the Process

Just as was mentioned in the previous section, solving a problem is a process by which a known problem is exchanged for resulting unknown problems.

Note how important "group process" (as social interaction) is within the whole community problem solving "process"!

Also, note the many places that require decision making within this process!

It should be emphasized that this is a process many communities do go through with little or no outside assistance.

But many do need assistance--the assistance of agency and CD workers--to help communities or their sub-systems be better able to use and go through this problem solving process.

Key factors influencing the degree of outside assistance needed are:

--Resources (human, natural, institutional, etc.) available to the community

--Organizations, institutions involved or not

--Local professional staff available

--Kinds of problems or issues the community or sub-system is facing

--Time factor involved

--Previous experience by community in dealing with problems

Large communities do have resident professional staffs assisting in the community problem solving process.

Many small communities, usually in non-metropolitan areas and particularly in economically depressed areas, don't have the resources to employ staffs that could assist them in the process; they are thus much more dependent on outside assistance.

One final comment:

--This process, when consciously applied by a community (or sub-system), does not guarantee success.

--However, if applied over time, we believe the community (or sub-system) will become more able to deal with problems and be more successful--as we believe that rational action is better than chance or "hit or miss."

--There will be less waste of time, energy, and other resources than in "hit or miss" efforts.

HOW CAN COMMUNITIES BE HELPED IN THEIR DECISION MAKING AND PROBLEM SOLVING PROCESSES?

With the background of the previous sections, we can now turn our attention to several specific concepts crucial to effective CD and to approaches which change agents can use when intervening in community-planned change efforts.

We have already alluded to the need for broader citizen participation in CD efforts. We will thus consider what citizen participation is and how we, as agency and CD workers, can help secure increased quality and quantity of citizen involvement in community decision making and problem solving.

Whenever communities are engaged in consequential decision making and problem solving, conflict is bound to crop up. Therefore, we need to consider the reasons for community conflict and ways it can be dealt with.

Agencies and CD workers are change agents intervening in community decision making and problem solving processes.

We will conclude this section of Unit IV by considering the kind of approaches being used by various change agents and which approaches are more appropriate than others under varying community conditions.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION[11]

In considering community decision making and the community problem solving process, two questions can be asked:

--Who is involved?

--Who should be involved?

The first is relatively easy to answer. We have already dealt with it to some extent (in the section on community decision making and the one on power actors).

Numerous studies on community power, power actors, power structures, community leadership, etc., have given scientists and CD practitioners a relatively good idea about who, in various kinds of communities and situations, does actively participate in community decision making and community problem solving.

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[11] Much of the content of this section is based on unpublished materials developed by Cook [3]. The author wishes to express his appreciation to Cook for the insights on citizen participation gained from these materials.

We know that for most community decisions only a very small number of people are actively involved. They usually have a higher-than-average income and education level and have higher status employment (may be self-employed), etc.

In fact (as was discussed in the section on power actors), CD practitioners have some tools available to them that they can (without too much trouble) use to determine who has power and who exercises power in community decision making.

We also know that at times very large numbers of people will get involved, but this is a rare and somewhat sporadic phenomenon.

The second question--"Who should be involved?"--is not as easy to answer.

It raises complex answers--answers which are usually loaded with values, beliefs, and the philosophical orientation of those answering.

Today, the answer is even circumscribed in many instances by federal and/or state legislative mandates and regulations.

This question gets at the heart of the concept of "citizen participation" in community decision making and problem solving.

CD practitioners are constantly confronted with the concept of citizen participation:

--Some communities want to promote more citizen participation and don't know how.

--Some communities don't want citizen involvement.

--Many federal and some state programs, that communities are trying to avail themselves of, require "broad citizen involvement" in implementing the program.

--Citizen groups appeal to agency and CD workers for help in how they can become involved.

--Local civic organizations or groups want to promote greater involvement by citizens in their civic programs or projects.

To complicate things, the feelings and values of agency and CD workers and the feelings and values of their agency co-workers and others can and do affect social interaction.

This is so because the whole concept of citizen participation is heavily loaded with philosophical values.

Two extreme positions can be characterized as:

1) On the one hand is the position aptly described (and decried) by Rogers:

> Our educational system, our industrial and military organizations, and many other aspects of our culture take the view that the nature of the individual is such that he cannot be trusted--that he must be guided, instructed, rewarded, punished and controlled by those who are wiser or higher in status [17, pp. 8-9].

   Of course, those who advocate this position also usually feel that they have the capacity to "lead" people and decide for them what is good--for their own good.

2) On the other hand, there are people who advocate a return to so-called "popular democracy" wherein all people in a community are involved in all decisions--where there is no delegation of some of the decision making powers to representatives or others. Such advocates believe that such a state would constitute a "real" democracy and not the "sham" we presently have. (Note the costs of decision making implied by this position.)

In between these extreme positions are all kinds of variations.

It is, therefore, no wonder that many agency and CD workers become somewhat confused as to what citizen participation is; and if they do have an idea of what it is, then there is the problem of how does one go about and help achieve broader citizen participation.

In the remainder of this section, we will try to address the following ideas:

--What is a citizen?

--What is citizen participation?

--How do these concepts fit in with community decision making or agency decision making?

--What are a few techniques that can be used for securing relevant citizen participation?

What is a citizen

The biggest block to understanding what a citizen is--and thus "citizen participation"--is that we usually associate the term citizen with a person. We thus say a citizen is a person who: votes, is an accepted member of a nation, has citizen qualities, and has certain civic responsibilities.

However, to understand in a more functional and less emotional way what a citizen is, we need to redirect our perception.

Namely, the term "citizen" should not be directly associated with a person, but rather with what any person does at certain times, places, and for certain reasons.

In other words, we need to consider a democratic citizen not as a person but as a variable role. (IV-15)

This role has two major functions:

--To make inputs into the decision making process

--To evaluate or react to the outputs of decisions made

Further, it is an open role--anybody can assume it for different purposes, at different times, and at different places.

It is not a prescribed role--i.e., it is not a role that someone (community leaders, agencies, organizations, etc.) can define and then ask individuals to play (e.g., it is not membership on a "citizen advisory committee" set up with very clear duties and responsibilities defined for its members and officers, with plans for the ways professional workers relate to committee members and they to the professionals).

It is a role wherein the incumbent (or potential incumbent) decides what role he/she will play, when, where, and for what purpose.

It is a flexible role--depending on the person who assumes it and the conditions under which it is assumed.

It is an open role--anybody who wants to can assume it.

It is a changing role--individuals can change how they exercise citizen roles over time as they learn and as situations change.

Implicit in the definition is that citizen roles can be learned and that different people will be more or less competent in playing these roles.

There are two major citizen competencies involved which are important in community decision making and agency or organizational decision making:

1) An active citizen competence--the ability to affect decisions

2) A subject citizen competence--the ability to react appropriately to decisions already made

To sum it up, "citizens" should not be considered as persons with certain qualities and attributes, but as roles.

There are two major functions to this role: to make inputs and to react to outputs.

It is a variable role with the incumbent determining how, when, and where it is to be exercised.

It is a role that can be learned by individuals.

For purposes of decision making, two competencies are important: to be able to influence decisions and to be able to react to decisions.

With this let's consider citizen participation.

Citizen participation

There are a number of fundamental principles which govern citizen participation in our form of democracy: (IV-16)

1) In our democratic society there is a freedom of individual choice in selecting when, where, how, and for what reason to participate or to exercise citizen roles.

   That is, no one can be forced to participate.

2) There is no single right way to participate as a citizen.

   This is the logical conclusion of the way citizen roles are defined (covered above).

3) The more citizens participate in different ways, the more citizen contributions are made available to any situation.

   This is important in decision making as there is no sense in "involving many" if all one is looking for is a single viewpoint.

One final comment on citizen participation, as described here, and its implications to the concept of "apathy":

The term apathy is used quite often in CD, especially by community leaders, agency workers, or CD workers. When such people decry the apathy of community residents, they usually mean, "They aren't interested in what we are interested in"; and thus they condemn these people for their lack of interest.

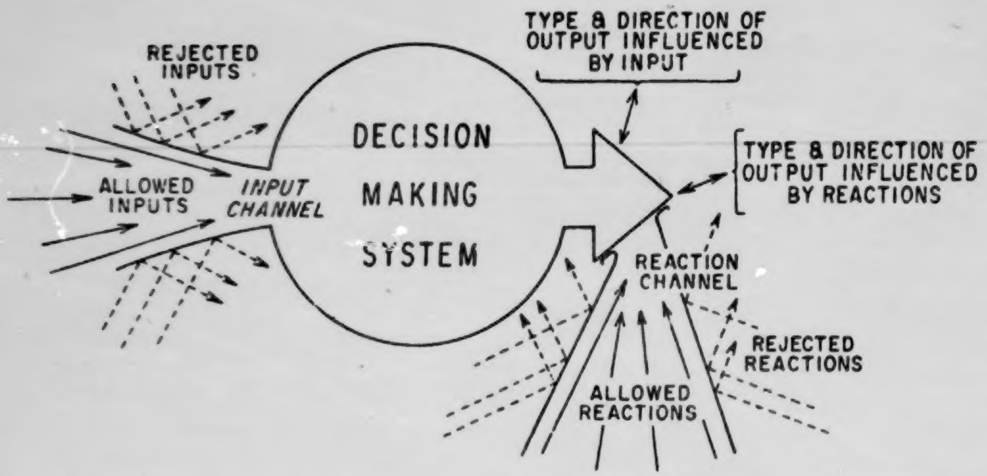
This principle negates the principle of individual choice and the right of people to exercise it.

It is usually very unrealistic, because an underlying assumption of those who usually condemn apathy is that all citizens should be vitally interested in all the different things going on in their community.

If this really happened, nobody would actually have the time and energy to do so and still keep a job and have a family! (The perfect solution to the problem of population explosion!)

Citizen participation and decision making

In order to simplify this discussion, it would be well to use a simple illustration. (IV-17)


TYPE & DIRECTION OF OUTPUT INFLUENCED BY INPUT
REJECTED INPUTS
DECISION MAKING SYSTEM
TYPE & DIRECTION OF OUTPUT INFLUENCED BY REACTIONS
ALLOWED INPUTS
INPUT CHANNEL
REACTION CHANNEL
REJECTED REACTIONS
ALLOWED REACTIONS

--In any decision making process, there are inputs.

--Those directly involved influence the kind of inputs allowed or not.

--The inputs are processed, and decisions are made.

--The type and direction of decisions are influenced by the quality and quantity of inputs made to the decision making system.

--Those in the decision making system influence the kind of reactions to the output allowed or not.

--The quality and quantity of reactions influence how outputs are modified.

Keeping in mind the functions of citizen roles and the competencies of exercising these roles, it can be seen that they can be applied to the above model of decision making at two points:

1) The citizen function (and competence) of making inputs is useful in the input stage of the model.

2) The citizen function or role (and competence) of evaluation or reaction is useful at the output stage of the decision making model.

Thus, to maximize citizen participation, there are two fundamental things that can be done:

1) To open the input channel to the system--i.e., to provide greater opportunities for people to exercise citizenship roles in making inputs and to receive more inputs which would otherwise be rejected

2) To provide greater opportunities for people to react to the output of decisions, where they can evaluate and react to decisions already made

These concepts about citizen participation and decision making have several important implications.

If the decision making system (community, organization, sub-system, agency, etc.) is concerned about reaching decisions that have no predetermined output, then it should foster the active function of the citizen role. (For example, a community health council wants to determine what health concerns should be given priority; or, a CD worker wants to help a neighborhood organization determine what are its major problems; etc.)

On the other hand, if the decision making system is concerned about effects of decisions already made and their possible consequences, it should concentrate on fostering the subject function of the citizen role.

This is particularly important for those agencies and organizations which have "predetermined" programs available to communities, but want to find out which ones the community needs most, and if these programs should be modified. (For example, an agency has a program which provides funds for low-income senior citizen housing. The question here is whether or not this program is needed and can it be adapted to fit local conditions.)

The distinction between these two situations is very important in CD.

Often, much time and energy is expended by CD workers trying to obtain the wrong kind of citizen participation:

- --Attempting to get active citizen input toward decisions already made
- --Attempting to get reacting citizen input where decisions have not been made

The first is more prevalent and has caused more problems.

Some techniques for promoting citizen participation

Different situations demand different techniques.

The key to obtaining proper citizen participation is determining whether the situation demands the active citizen role or the reactive citizen role.

Also key is that citizens cannot be forced to play either role. What can be done is to provide opportunities for individuals to assume and perform the called-for roles.

In a decision making situation where the system is attempting to obtain active citizen roles, all methods which provide opportunities for obtaining the input from as many people as possible should be used.

It is best to use a combination of techniques. Some of the techniques fostering active citizen roles are:

- --Surveys of all kinds (mail, personal, telephone)
- --Solicitation of input through mass media (newspapers, T.V., radio)

--Providing opportunities geared toward the interests and situations of the citizens instead of agency (organization) oriented opportunities (e.g., holding meetings, hearings, on their "turf" and "time")

--Solicitation through "advertisements" in places where people congregate (leaflets, posters, annoucements, bulletins, etc.)

--Pinpointing other systems or sub-systems that should be involved--following up with direct contacts

--Public meetings, hearings, forums--in different locations and times

--Providing actual involvement opportunities, such as sub-communities, study committees, etc.

All these are designed to open up the channel of input into the decision making process and provide opportunities for people to assume active citizen roles.

In the decision implementation situation, where the system is attempting to obtain reaction to decisions and evaluation of them, all methods which provide opportunities for obtaining the reactive citizen role should be used.

In this situation it is important to note that the decision making system must have flexibility to modify decisions made; otherwise, there is no purpose in obtaining reactive citizen participation.

Again, a variety of means should be used. A common element in all is that the decision output has to be explained to people before their reaction can be solicited.

Some of the techniques fostering reactive citizen roles are:

--Educational forums--meetings--at different times and places

--Mass media--informing and soliciting reaction

--Meetings with key organizations (sub-systems) to explain--to obtain reaction

--Public hearings--well advertised--at different times and places

In the decision implementation situation, as well as the decision making situation, it is important that the decision making system provide individuals, who have played citizen roles, feedback as to what difference their roles have made.

This feedback provides reinforcement to those who assumed citizen roles, and they will be more predisposed to assuming such roles in the future.

If individuals play a citizen role and perceive that it didn't make any difference, they will be less disposed to assume citizen roles in the future thinking, "What's the use anyway?"

Up to this point we have dealt with the problem of promoting greater citizen participation.

We all need to recognize, however, that there are situations where:

--The decision making unit does not want citizens involved

--An agency does not want citizens involved

Usually, the basic motivation in both cases is to avoid conflict and possible disruption by active and vocal citizens.

This motivation is at times legitimate. All of us know of or have experienced cases where a small minority of very active and dedicated people have used "citizen participation" mandates to disrupt or stop certain decisions from being made or implemented.

Often, however, the motivation is less legitimate. In fact, as agency and CD workers, you will no doubt run into a situation, sooner or later, where local community decision makers will ask your help in preventing appropriate citizen participation.

This will surely put many of you in a dilemma. There is no easy answer on how to deal with such a situation.

How to solve this depends on the local circumstances, your ethics, your beliefs, your roles, and the roles of your agency.

A more common dilemma, always present in situations demanding citizen participation, is: How many people should be involved?

In this regard, we can sum up this discussion by reiterating that promoting citizen participation is:

--Not just a process of getting a maximum number of people involved

--It is a process of providing maximum opportunities to those who choose to exercise citizen roles.

CONFLICT

Everyone of us experiences differences of opinion everyday.

Almost as common are the varying levels of disagreement we encounter:

--with our co-workers

--in our families

--among our friends

--in business transactions

--in sports

--and so on

In fact, whenever two or more people interact together there is bound to be some difference of opinions or disagreement about something.

And so it is within communities and their subsystems, particularly when they are engaged in decision making and problem solving.

At times the disagreement is so sharp with two parties at such odds and polarized that we call it conflict.

Community decision making and problem solving, particularly when important issues and problems are involved, will usually involve some conflict among those involved.

Conflict between pro and con groups within the community (or sub-system) about: what should be done and/or how it should be done. Conflict among organizations and agencies. Conflict between power actors and "citizens." Conflict among power actors. And so on.

Agency workers and CD practitioners are constantly --if they are halfway effective--running into conflict situations. This is because any substantive decision in a community or project usually involves strong proponents and opponents (e.g., land use, zoning, energy, highway location, poverty programs, etc.).

Until relatively recently, most CD workers avoided such conflict situations--and often worked hard to lessen potential conflict, primarily because of the prevailing assumption that consensus, agreement, and cooperation was inherently "good" and conflict was inherently "bad."

These two conditions also have their roots in the nature of communities and the transformation they have undergone over time.

When communities were more horizontally oriented, there was less open conflict. They could resolve conflict before it built up, or they could control conflict through the application of sanctions.

As communities (particularly their sub-systems) have become more vertically oriented, opportunities for conflict have increased. Conflict can build up and escalate without anybody being able to control it (the parties to the conflict having stronger vertical ties out of the community than horizontal links within the community).

Also, because of the vertical linkages to extra-community systems and the companion effect of decision making for many issues being moved out of the local community, more outside pressures and decisions are impinging on local communities (e.g., anti-segregation laws, EPA rules, etc.).

Finally, as Warren has pointed out in discussing the "Great Change," our values have changed [23;24;25]. One major change in our values has been that less importance is placed on conformity, and dissent is tolerated to a greater extent in the traditional horizontally linked community.

There is now an increasing realization that conflict within communities, particularly as they attempt to make decisions about important issues, is a normal occurrence and not necessarily bad.

Recognizing this, researchers have recently developed some concepts for CD practitioners that will help them understand what conflict is, how to work within conflict situations, and how to deal with conflict.

In fact, many organizations involved in aspects of CD are recognizing this fact and encouraging their employees to become informed (educated) about conflict and to become involved.

Their recognition that non-involvement in conflict situations has risks in it as exemplified by the statements of Powers to a group of extension workers when he said:

> My own view is that an extension system that purposefully avoids issues and arenas where conflict exists is doomed to mediocrity, or a kind of long-term sentence to being average. Such a system might be without detractors of sufficient numbers to cause problems in funding and programming, but also likely to have insufficient numbers of supporters among those who count when the chips are down. Viable, growing organizations must serve emerging needs and issues and incur some risk because the alternative of being 'safe' is, in reality, also risky [14, p. 8].

These comments could apply to any organization or individual involved in purposeful community change.

With this background, let's turn to some concepts that will help us understand conflict in community decision making and problem solving.

What is conflict

Today there is general agreement that conflict is a means to significant social change and arises when significant changes occur.

We may be uncomfortable when involved in conflict situations, but we need to recognize that, despite the discomfort, it is the means of social change and the result of much change!

There are two major perspectives on what conflict is. (IV-18)

On the one hand, conflict is seen as something that arises out of threats by one party on the territory of another party.

This view is exemplified by Robinson and Clifford, who defined conflict:

> . . . as a process involving behavioral threats by one party. We say "threats" because the behavior represents an incompatibility of interests shared by both parties regarding a socially defined boundary. The conflict is seen as a threat to the other because one party seeks to attain goals or to achieve interests with enough behavioral intensity to change the boundary and to limit the goal attainment of the other party. Behavioral threats are usually directed at values, policy, and goals [16, p. 3] (Emphasis added by this author).

On the other hand, conflict is seen as something that arises out of the different values and beliefs of people, which govern their perception about what community issues (or problems) exist or what means should be used to resolve an agreed-upon issue.

That is, conflict arises out of situations where different people or groups of people disagree on the goals that should be reached or means to an agreed-upon goal.

This view is best explained by Warren [24;25]. Warren dislikes the term "conflict," preferring to characterize what most call conflict as "contest." He reserves the word conflict to "the deliberate attempt to harm the opponent or remove him from the issue resolving field, i.e., conflict in the strict sense of the word" [25; p. 25] (Emphasis by Warren).

Warren thus defines a conflict situation as an issue dissensus situation where "important parties to the situation either (a) refuse to recognize the issue or (b) oppose the change agent's proposal" [25, p. 13 & p. 23]. These are the results of sharp value and belief differences among the parties.

He further states that: "Contest strategies are characterized by the abandonment, temporarily at least, of efforts at consensus, and the employment of efforts to further one's own side of an issue despite opposition from important parties to that issue" [25; p. 22].

Both perspectives help us understand what conflict is and have implications for CD workers.

Both recognize that conflict in itself is not "bad"--that it is a normal process in all societies. Both recognize that it is a process that occurs when changes occur in society (planned and unplanned) and is a process which helps society adapt to change.

Both recognize that conflict situations will lead to changes in communities and individuals involved.

Both also recognize that conflict, when it gets out of hand, can have negative consequences to the community. Thus, both recognize that communities and change agents can and should try to contain conflict so it doesn't become destructive.

Both views also see conflict as something that rises and goes through a set pattern with some resolution at the end.

Robinson and Clifford call this a "conflict cycle" and describe this cycle as having five stages: (IV-19) "(1) tension development, (2) role dilemma, (3) injustice collecting, (4) confrontation, and (5) adjustment" [16, pp. 9-14].

In the first stage, the two sides start lining up in opposing groups as an issue over "territory" is defined.

In the second stage, "role dilemma," the people involved question what they are doing, how they are to behave, and which side to choose.

In the third stage, data and information is collected by each side to bolster its position and to be used to confront the other side.

In the fourth stage, "confrontation," a climax is reached. This is the "show-down" stage for the two sides.

The last stage, "adjustment," is the end of this cycle. This adjustment can involve "domination, cold war, isolation, and compromise" or a combination of these [16, pp. 11-14]. This adjustment is in terms of redefined territory, or, values, goals and policies.

That is, the end result of conflict can be:

--one side wins over another;

--both sides maintain their positions without change because neither has the power to win over the other and accomodate to this new situation;

--one party in the conflict withdraws and isolates itself; or

--a compromise is worked out acceptable to both parties.

However, the two parties do not have to go through the full cycle--they can reach the last stage of adjustment without going through all intervening steps.

According to Warren, the outcome of a "contest" situation is that one party will "win" the contest or both won't "win"--i.e., its views, position or program will be accepted, or a standoff occurs where neither party's views can prevail over the other's [25, pp. 3-31].

According to Warren, it seems that there is no room for compromise to be an end result. Warren takes care of this concern through another situation, which he doesn't equate with conflict, or in his terminology, "contest."

In this situation there is what he calls "issue dissensus" (parties disagreeing on ends or means) with the important difference being a chance for this situation becoming a "consensus" situation--either by one party accepting fully the other's view, or by compromise.

Implications

For agency and CD workers there are implications to the concept of conflict. A few key ones are:

- --Conflict is a normal social process; thus, CD change agents and communities don't need to expend great energy in avoiding conflict.
- --For CD to avoid conflict situations means that in the long-run, they are not dealing with many important issues confronting communities; thus, they are not adequately serving communities.
- --Agencies who engage in CD, if they don't recognize that conflict is normal and that they can play a role in conflict situations, will also find themselves not dealing with the real problems and issues in communities and will decline in programs, funding, and support.
- --If conflict or potential conflict is ignored or suppressed, it probably will reappear in greater intensity.
- --Recognizing what conflict is and how it is resolved helps CD workers deal with it on a personal basis and they can, in turn, help communities understand and deal with it.
- --Knowledge of whether an issue in a community will lead to conflict will help determine how the CD worker can work within the community--what kind of strategies to use in working with one party or both parties.
- --Conflict occurs among individuals and groups within the community. It can also occur among or within organizations and agencies working in communities (c.f., later sections).
- --Conflict is often introduced by outside groups, including agencies.

Agency and CD workers can play constructive roles in helping communities and their sub-systems deal with conflict. A few key roles are:

--Helping leaders of sub-systems understand conflict and its useful functions.

--Helping parties avoid the excessive escalation of conflict where it becomes destructive. A major way this can be done is to serve as links between the parties in conflict (serving as horizontal linkage) mediating between the parties helping them find alternative compromises.

--Providing opportunities where opposing parties can discuss their differences in "neutral" territory.

--Being conscious of how one's agency and its programs might result in conflict within a community. Flexibility in this regard is important --by the individual agency worker and his agency.

--In some cases, it might be necessary for agency and CD workers to help sub-groups in the conflict process in a constructive manner--helping them collect facts, guiding them in the cycle of conflict.

--Also, agency and CD workers might, under certain circumstances, use a strategy that requires conflict. (See the next section.)

--Agency and CD workers can help sub-systems which have undergone conflict processes adjust to new conditions, new "territories," new policies, new values, new regulations, etc.

The major role, however, is that of helping moderate the conflict situation--helping avoid its escalating to the point of causing more harm than good.

There are only a few cases where conflict actually has to end up with a win/lose situation. If conflict doesn't escalate quickly, parties to conflict are usually willing to compromise to some extent.

APPROACHES TO WORKING WITHIN THE COMMUNITY DECISION MAKING AND PROBLEM SOLVING PROCESS[12]

In the last several sections on community decision making, community problem solving, citizen participation, and conflict, we dealt only peripherally with the role of CD workers within these processes.

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[12] Refer to the resource paper by Thullen, included in this unit, for a more detailed discussion on this topic.

We took each of these concepts in isolation and tried to clarify and explain them.

Part of the explanation involved a brief discussion on implications for CD workers.

We now need to address more centrally the question of: "How do I (as an agency or CD worker) become involved in the community decision making and problem solving process?"--i.e., what kind of approaches should I use--are there alternative approaches for working within a community?

Until about the 1950s, one approach to CD predominated--an approach based on community consensus, collaboration, and cooperation.

It was an approach that had as its basic assumption that reasonable people, if they worked at it, could always resolve any differences. Also, it was desirable to use an approach that promoted gradual, evolutionary community change.

New studies on community change and the proliferation of new and different CD programs in this country (and outside) have led to an increased realization that there are different CD approaches and that there is no ONE right way to do CD.

In this section we will try to briefly describe some of the different approaches used over the past twenty or so years and then try to see if we can develop a conceptual framework within which we could order the variety of approaches described. As usual, we will end with a discussion of implications to CD workers.

Descriptive approaches (IV-20)

1) The "Community" Approach

- the traditional approach
- still used by many
- work done within well-defined communities (usually small)
- holistic approach to decision making
- oriented to consensus, cooperation

Premises: Work has to be done within the whole community to obtain significant results; high participation contributes to consensus on needs, goals, and strategies.

2) The "Education" Approach

--closely related to first

--also around for some time

--used by organizations with educational roles

--composed of education programs for leaders and citizens (seminars, workshops, etc.)

--information systems for decision makers

Premises: "Problems" are the result of inadequate information. Community problems and issues can only be solved by informed and educated leaders and citizens; all people are rational--if they would only know more, they would agree and know how to make good decisions.

3) The "Human Resource Development" Approach

--is of more recent origin and related to first two

--high emphasis on development of individuals

--focuses on individuals' ability to function in groups

--emphasis on "grass roots" self-help programs

--low emphasis on physical, natural, biological, economic development

Premises: Communities are made of people; to improve communities, individual potentials must be developed; if people have developed to their potential, community problems will have been dealt with.

4) The "Planning, Design and Architectural" Approach

--also been around for some time

--less proponents today than in past

--emphasis on "master plans"

--aesthetics, design of physical environment, interrelationships of space and volume

--low emphasis on people involvement and development

--technically oriented

Premises: Design components of community are important; better designed communities function better; good urban design will help solve urban decay; if only communities would develop "master plan" and stick to it, problems would be solved.

5) The "Community Facilities Improvement and Physical Development" Approach

--is closely allied to the previous one

--more recent in origin

--oriented to "bricks and mortar"

--measurable and visible projects

--technically oriented

--low people involvement oriented

Premises: Most problems are result of lack of proper facilities and services; if these were provided, problems would be solved.

6) The "Economic Development" Approach

--more recent in origin but related to past two

--used widely in the 1960s in United States and presently all over world

--emphasizes economic planning

--industrial and business development

--job creation and training

--new technology to foster new economic development

--increasing population base

Premises: Healthy and growing economic base is essential to good communities; if economy of community (industry, business, and employment) is healthy, most problems take care of themselves.

7) The "Regional Development" Approach

--more recent in origin

--gaining in strength, particularly on a multi-county regional basis

--emphasis on economies of scale, efficiency and avoidance of duplication

--high emphasis on rationality

--high involvement of power actors

--low involvement of citizens

Premises: Most community problems are too big to be solved by communities on their own; communities must work together on mutual problems--if they only did, most problems could be dealt with.

8) The "Power Structure" Approach

--in many cases has been used as a concious approach to development

--but also as a value base influencing other approaches used by CD workers

--emphasis on "work behind the scenes"

--involvement of "right people" or power actors

--low involvement of citizens

Premises: Community decisions are made by power actors; if these can be identified and enlisted, most community problems can be dealt with; also, only a few individuals have interest and capacity for being involved in community decision making--thus, why waste time with others--just involve the few right people.

9) The "Helping the Disadvantaged" Approach

--relatively recent though in decline today

--it is almost the opposite of previous one

--emphasis on organizing disadvantaged

--self-help, bootstrap efforts

--local autonomy on programs designed to help disadvantaged

--highly "people" oriented

Premises: Most problems result from inequities in distribution of decision making power, services, and resources; problems of disadvantaged are the key community problems--if these can be dealt with, most will disappear.

10) The "Conflict" Approach

--also relatively new

--also less used than in 1960s

--emphasis on "direct action"

--civil disobedience--organization of factions, of aggrieved, of minorities

--sharp delineation of "sides"

--polarization efforts

--struggles for power over institutions and decision making

Premises: It is useless to work "within system" in order to solve community problems; action is needed to "shake system up;" the present "system" has not been able to deal with present problems (has even been the cause of them); thus, why use it?

11) The "Radical Change" or "Reform" Approach

--in some ways, it has been around for long time

--gaining some support

--closely allied to previous approach

--emphasis on organizing aggrieved

--acquisition of political power

--work within "system" in order to take it over

Premises: "System" itself not that bad, just misused--needs redirection and reform; if reformed, then system can actually deal with problems.

12) The "Revolution" or "Total Change" Approach

--represents to some extent the other extreme on the continuum to the first approach

--it has a small but significant following in this country

--used in other countries extensively

--emphasis on revolution

--complete change in society, its values, its structures

--much idealism and dogmatism and dedication--unwillingness to discuss other means or goals (inflexibility)

--means justify the ends

--violence when necessary

Premises: Society is "sick;" it can't deal with its problems and is the cause of most problems; must be changed radically in order to deal with these problems; all other approaches are waste of time and effort.

These twelve approaches are described in stark, simplified terms, to some extent with exaggerations.

However, there are and have been proponents of all these approaches who strongly feel that their approach is right and works. And their point is well taken because all have worked and yielded results in some circumstances.

Because all of these methods have worked, people in CD have begun to ask whether there are different approaches that work best in certain situations.

It is out of this questioning that social scientists have been able to explore the theory of purposeful community change and to see if there are different conditions which demand different CD.

A framework for approaches

Probably the best conceptual schema to explain community conditions which demand different CD approaches has been developed by Warren. This section will draw heavily on his works, particularly from his first chapter in Truth, Love and Social Change [25, pp. 7-34] and chapters 10 and 12 in his book, The Community in America [24, pp. 303-402].

Basically, Warren describes three major alternative approaches (on a continuum) which are based on the kind of situation the community or its sub-systems find themselves in. He labeled these as: "Collaborative Strategy," "Campaign Strategy," and "Contest Strategy"--using the term "strategy" for approach.

Depending on the situation, one of the three strategies is the most appropriate.

Ingredients to the situation are:

--The "change agent" - which Warren defines as "party or actor (one or more persons or groups) who want to bring about" a change in a community.

--The "proposal" - which he defines as "an explicit change objective that the change agent wants to accomplish."

--An "issue" - which Warren defines as "an aspect or possibility of purposive change which is the subject of active consideration among important parties in the situation."

With these ingredients in mind, Warren then describes three basic situations (which are on a continuum) which communities (or sub-systems) can find themselves in:

1) "Issue Consensus" Situation - In this situation there is:

   --basic agreement as to what an issue is; and

   --basic agreement as to how an issue should be resolved.

   The agreement is based on common interests because values of parties are similar or because their interests are the same even though values are different.

2) "Issue Difference" Situation - In this situation there is initial difference about:

   --whether there is an issue (whether the "proposal" promoted by a "change agent" constitutes an "issue") or

   --whether a "proposal" to resolve an agreed-upon issue is appropriate.

   In this situation conditions are such that even though there might be initial disagreement, consensus (usually by compromise) can be reached.

3) "Issue Dissensus" Situation - In this situation the important parties involved have serious disagreement about:

   --whether there is an issue that needs resolving; or

   --whether the "proposal" to resolve an agreed-upon issue is the right one.

   In this situation, though similar to the previous one, there is no chance that consensus can be reached.

Based on these three community situations, Warren developed the three basic strategies:

1) "Collaboration Strategies" or Approaches (IV-21)

   --Used where there are "issue consensus" situations

   --There is a lack of preconceived ideas about the issue or issue solution.

   --The "change agent" in this situation is a facilitator, stimulator, catalyst, communicator.

--Eventual agreement on issue and/or its solution is based on all parties having adequate knowledge about issue and/or proposed solution.

The descriptive approaches discussed earlier, which conform most of this "strategy," are the: "Community," "Education," "Human Resource Development," and "Power Structure" approaches.

2) "Campaign Strategies" or Approaches (IV-22)

--Used and appropriate where there are "issue difference" situation.

--There are preconceived ideas about issues or issue solutions that have to be "sold" to overcome apathy or opposition.

--Though differences exist, assumption is that consensus can be reached.

--The change agent assumes the role of persuader, campaigner, convincer.

--Outcome of this strategy is a situation of "issue consensus" where the opposing or indifferent party adopts the proposal made by the change agent(s), or a mutually acceptable compromise is developed.

The descriptive approaches conforming to some extent to this "strategy" are the: "Planning Design and Architechtural," "Community Facilities Improvement and Physical Development," "Economic Development" and "Regional Development" approaches. However, in some cases these approaches can also be classified under the third "strategy."

3) "Contest Strategies" or Approaches (IV-23)

--Used and appropriate where there are "issue dissensus" situations.

--There are preconceived ideas about issue and/or issue solutions.

--There is no real hope to reconcile the differences in order to reach consensus.

--Strategy becomes a contest of "us" versus "them."

--The change agent assumes roles of a contestant that helps his side win or prevail.

--Contest can be played under normal societal rules of conduct, or, outside them.

--Outcome of this strategy is that one side or the other prevails.

The descriptive approaches which fit this strategy best are the: "Helping the Disadvantaged," "Conflict" and "Radical Change" approaches.

Warren alludes to one other strategy but did not fully develop it.

As mentioned in the previous section on conflict, he did not want to use this term, preferring to use "issue dissensus," explaining that a conflict situation is one in which one side wants to eliminate the other side, rather than to just "win."

Thus, a fourth major alternative is available--for theoretical purposes.

This could be labeled, using Warren's use of the word, as the "Conflict Strategy."

--Such a strategy would be used when there is complete "issue dissensus," with no possibility of reconciling differences available, where both sides attempt to actually eliminate each other.

--The role a change agent would assume is that of combatant.

--Methods are physical violence, and any means will be used (ends justifying means).

--Outcome is that one of the parties is completely eliminated.

This last approach is not advocated and has rarely been used in the United States. We hope that it will never be needed under our democratic system of government and system of values. However, it is a strategy that is consciously chosen in other parts of the world and does represent the possible extreme strategy in relation to the "Collaborative Strategy." The descriptive approaches that would fit this strategy are the "Revolution" and "Total Change" approaches.

Some implications

The most important implication--already alluded to--is that there is no one right approach to CD.

There are alternatives that are more effective under certain circumstances, depending on where a community (or sub-system) finds itself on the continuum of issue consensus--difference--dissensus.

Although all alternatives are theoretically open to CD workers, there are restraints as to which ones they can use:

- --The personal orientation (values) of the agency or CD worker himself
- --The skills and knowledge the agency or CD worker has
- --The orientation and philosophy of the organization (or agency) the CD worker is affiliated with

CD workers must work at becoming flexible and at increasing their skills in order to use more than one approach.

This applies particularly to those who are used to and are only comfortable in "issue consensus" situations using "Collaborative Strategies." If they don't, they simply are not working with the key problems/issues facing contemporary communities--be they rural or urban or suburban.

Community development workers do have to work within certain boundaries set by their organizations.

If the organization wants to avoid all "issue difference" or "issue dissensus" situations, CD workers have to attempt to help their superiors recognize the consequences of such a posture.

HOW CAN I INCREASE MY EFFECTIVENESS IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND THAT OF MY AGENCY'S

So far in this unit, we have dealt with the context within which community developers work, the community--its composition--its processes of decision making and problem solving--and how agencies and CD workers can work within these processes.

We now turn our attention to the second major context of agency or CD workers--that of the agency or organization they work for.

This arena has not been fully appreciated in the past. It was thought that as long as change agents had knowledge about communities and skills in conducting CD, this was enough.

Increasingly, however, questions are being raised about:

--Why should I be involved in CD?

--Why should my agency be involved in CD?

--Should I coordinate my efforts with that of others? Why?

--What can I do about conflict with other agencies?

--How can I work cooperatively with others without the risk of losing visibility, financial support?

--How can I (and my agency) remain flexible in a constantly changing community context--to remain viable--to keep addressing what is relevant and important?

These and other questions are important--both to the agency or CD worker and to the agencies (organizations) engaged in some aspect of CD. They sound simple but are complex and have no easy answers.

We will try to deal with these and similar questions in this section. We cover them on the assumption that individuals and agencies committed to CD efforts are interested in and committed to increasing their effectiveness in working with communities.

In this final section of Unit IV, we will cover three topics.

First, we will briefly review again why as an agency worker or as an agency we should be involved in CD.

Second, we will explore the intricacies of interagency cooperation and collaboration. Why? To what extent? How?

Finally, we will discuss elements important in improving the long-term flexibility of CD workers and agencies involved in CD:

--How they can avoid becoming stagnant?

--How they can renew themselves and stay relevant despite changes in communities?

--How they can fulfill their commitment of service meeting the the needs of communities, community sub-systems, and community residents?

--In short, how they can maintain a client orientation in what they do?

WHY BE INVOLVED?

Although thoroughly discussed in Unit III, it might be well to briefly review again why individuals and organizations/agencies do become involved in CD:

--The effects of the "Great Change" on society and communities

--The need of communities and/or their sub-systems for outside assistance in coping with effects of the "Great Change"

a. The need for general assistance in decision making and problem solving

b. The need for specialized assistance for dealing with specific issues and problems for which they need resources

--The need for assistance provided by someone who is working and living in (or close to) the client community. Generally, the needed assistance can't be provided from a distance.

--The values in our society that support someone (usually the Federal government, as it is believed it has the resources) helping those who need help. People in our society have believed that assistance should be given to those in need. The method(s) of doing so have changed over time (particularly in how the assistance is to be provided and by whom), but the value has remained unchanged.

--The personal values and philosophies of the individuals involved, as well as their agencies

In sum, these and others are legitimate reasons for agencies becoming involved in CD.

These reasons provide them with basic underlying motivations for increasing their effectiveness in CD efforts.

INTERAGENCY COOPERATION--WHY?--HOW?

As Warren has so aptly pointed out in describing the "Great Change," one of its major manifestations has been the proliferation of bureaucracies--bureaucracies which have more vertical ties to units outside local community systems than to units within community systems [23,24].

Thus, there is a multiplicity of bureaucracies or agencies[13] at any local community system, all offering the community some service or some resources that can be used in community problem solving:

- --Public agencies
  - --federal
  - --state
  - --regional
  - --local
- --Non-profit, semipublic agencies
- --Profit organizations

Within this great variety of agencies operating within a local community system, agencies are attempting to serve:

- --The same clientele with similar programs
- --The same clientele with different programs
- --Different clientele with similar programs
- --Different clientele with different programs
- --Any combination of the above

This situation is complicated in some cases by:

- --Agencies with conflicting purposes that serve the same clientele
- --Or those who serve clientele with programs that conflict in terms of long-range consequences to the community as a whole

Over time, the duplication, overlap and conflicing programs of many agencies have created a need for coordinating agency efforts. This is often done by coordinating policy decisions that determine what agencies do, to whom, where, and why.

This problem of finding out how to increase agency effort coordination and cooperation has been intensified in recent years by the following variables:

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[13] For purposes of simplification in the discussion that follows, the term agency will denote any organization (public or private) which has some resources to offer to a community, and is involved in some way in community decision making and problem solving.

--The number of agencies working within communities is still growing--increasing the possibilities of overlap, duplication, conflict among agencies, etc.

--Financial support for these agencies (mostly tax funds) has become more scarce in recent years--resulting in increased competition among agencies for available dollars.

--Increased emphasis on "accountability" by public legislative bodies at all levels and non-public bodies such as funding agencies involved in community change. One result has been the increasing possibility of agencies being less willing to share credit for program success and agencies competing over who has jurisdiction over certain clientele, etc.

This complex situation has spawned a variety of efforts by citizens, taxpayers, legislative bodies, public administration bodies, and some agencies, to find mechanisms to increase coordination in the planning and delivering services, programs, and resources to locality communities.

There have been legislative mandates, administrative mandates, new coordinating organizations formed--but many, if not most, have not done too well over time.

This, in turn, has prompted a growing research field commonly referred to as "Interorganization Relations," which attempts to study why agencies do and do not cooperate and how coordination and cooperation among agencies can be furthered.

These research efforts have yielded insights into why agencies don't cooperate, why they do, and how greater coordination and cooperation among them can be increased (several of these reports are cited in the following sections).

With this background we can consider the following topics:

--What is interagency cooperation?

--What is interagency conflict?

--The context within which interagency coordination takes place

--Some principles of interagency coordination

--Implications for agencies and their workers

Interagency coordination

Before we can deal with the issue, we should try to define it.

At the outset it should be pointed out that different agencies do interact with one another--intentionally or unintentionally.

Their interaction can be for purposes of cooperation and coordination or for conflict and competition. In this discussion we will give more attention to the positive side--coordination and cooperation--but will also deal, where necessary, with conflict or competition among agencies.

The most simple and straightforward, general definition is that interagency coordination means that "two or more agencies work together to achieve an inclusive goal" [Rogers and Molnar, 18, p. 4].

But, leaving it at that level is not enough.

Warren has described six ways in which coordination could be described [25, pp. 213-214]:

1) "A mutual checking out of plans so that two or more organizations may act in full knowledge of each other's intentions"
2) "Formal or informal agreements to avoid duplication of services"
3) "Joint planning of new programs that go beyond the domain of any single organization"
4) "Setting up mechanisms, formal or informal, for settling differences on issues when the interests of the organizations conflict with each other"
5) When two or more agencies are coordinated by a single funding source through equitable allocation of resources (Warren labeled this as "allocative coordination.")
6) When the behavior of one agency "is modified in accordance with the behavior of" one or more other agencies (Warren points out that an agency can react to actions of others positively or negatively--when it does positively, it is, in fact, coordinating. He labeled this as "adaptive coordination.")

Interagency conflict

This needs to be considered briefly, as it will be coming up in subsequent discussions.

It is more difficult to find a source in the literature that defines conflict in precise terms; most of the literature assumes readers know what it is and go from there.

However, there is agreement in a general definition of interagency conflict--that it is active interaction among two or more agencies concerning their "territories," for example:

--Who should make decisions about certain programs or services

--Who should address specific problems or issues

--Who should serve certain clientele groups

--Who should serve within certain geographic localities

--Who should get needed resources

--Who should get recognition

Conflict among agencies is not necessarily bad except when it "gets out of hand."

As noted in an earlier section, conflict is not an unnatural social process among individuals, as well as groups within a community. It thus follows that this also applies to agencies.

Conflict, if not too intense and destructive, can lead to positive changes; it might lead to new innovotive programs, greater responsiveness to peoples' needs, better planning, greater accountability, etc.

Two or more agencies can be engaged in conflict and coordination at the same time--over different issues.

The context within which interagency coordination occurs

This topic is important for considering how agencies interact and how greater coordination can occur.

Based on some studies on decision making among agencies and organizations, Warren developed a typology of how agencies interact among each other [25, pp. 180-197].

This is a useful typology, which can help us better understand within what context agencies interact and make joint decisions and develop joint working relationships.

The four contexts of agency decision making described by Warren are: the "unitary," the "federative," the "coalitional" and the "social choice."

They are not mutually exclusive but are on a continuum--with the "unitary" on one end and the "social choice" on the other end. (IV-24)

1) In the "unitary" context, units are formally organized in order to achieve a common goal with decision making and authority at the top of the unitary organization.

   Units are structured for division of labor within the organization.

   Within the units making up the organization there is high commitment to following orders from the organizational leadership, and their orientation is to work toward the well-being of the overall organization--greater than toward the good of the unit.

   This context is exemplified by most multipurpose straight-line agencies which contain two or more departments or divisions with a central administration--e.g., Department of Social Services, Department of Public Health, etc.

2) In the "federative" context, there are two or more separate units with different goals which develop a formal organization that would further the achievement of a common goal.

   This organization may even be staffed.

   Decision making related to the common goal is made at the level of the formal organization but subject to ratification by the member units.

   Authority is primarily at the unit level with some exceptions, which are handled at the organization level.

   Units are structured autonomously, but there is some division of labor, which might affect their structure.

   The units have moderate commitment to the leadership and goals of the federative organization and have a moderate degree of collective orientation.

   Examples of this kind of context are many formal agency councils, which often have a staff working for them. These are more common in large metro areas and in state government levels--e.g., Health Councils, Welfare Councils, Rural Affairs Councils, etc.

3) In the "coalitional" context, there are two or more units with disparate goals which work together on an ad hoc or informal basis toward a specific common goal.

   These arrangements are usually of short duration--not more than a year or so.

   Authority rests exclusively at the unit level.

   Units are structured autonomously.

   They might agree to a division of labor but do so without restructuring themselves.

   People within units are committed only to their unit leaders, and there is only a minimal collective orientation.

   There are many examples of this context; and, in fact, most interagency cooperation efforts fall within this context--e.g., an industrial development coalition consisting of the Chamber of Commerce, several banks, and civic organizations working together to attract a major new industry.

4) In the "social choice" context, there is no formal or informal structure or interaction among the units.

   However, units do "work together" (independently) around specific major community issues by responding separately to these issues.

   At times the responses by different units are in opposition to one another.

This four-fold typology can be used to describe the interaction of many agencies at different levels. As Warren points out: ". . . a unitary organization may be a member of a federation which in turn may be a member of a coalition which is acting to some extent in concert in a larger social choice decision. Other combinations also occur" [25, p. 189].

As can be seen by the descriptions, the "unitary" structure in most non-metropolitan areas describes individual agencies.

There are few "federative" organizations, and most joint efforts involve "coalitional" or "social choice" situations.

Because of the lack of structure and authority involved in the "coalitional" and "social choice" situations, there are more problems in getting agencies to work together on joint efforts.

At this point, let's shift to some principles that need to be considered for understanding agency cooperation.

Principles of inter-agency cooperation

As a result of the research in interorganizational relations, we have a much better picture as to how and under what circumstances agencies can and do work together.

Here we shall review some principles that seem to govern interagency cooperation and which have implications to agencies working in communities.[14]

1) As agencies interact with others, they act so as to preserve or expand their territory.
2) Agencies will enter voluntarily into joint efforts with others only under those circumstances which, in their opinion, are conducive to preservation or expansion of their domain.
3) If the situation is not conducive to preserving or expanding their domain, agencies will enter joint efforts with others only if they have strong inducements (to offset potential losses) or if coerced into the joint efforts.
4) Coercive power can be exercised by one agency over another, by a third party, or by a legitimated authority within a hierarchic structure to which the parties belong (e.g., of the latter: The Secretary of Agriculture orders various USDA agencies to work together).

These first four principles are very important and have significant implications to those involved in CD and who want to promote greater interagency coordination or collaboration.

Separate studies, which tended to corroborate the principles developed by Warren, Rogers and Molnar, found that organizations which are involved in interorganizational relations usually have higher prestige and feel they have greater power or control in their relations with other units. From this conclusion they imply that it would "be difficult to secure cooperation among units of unequal power or strength" [18, p. 66].

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[14] Most of these principles are based on 17 "assertions" about "concerted decision making" developed by Warren [25, pp. 199-211].

In addition, they report that:

> Larger, more complex units . . . tend to be more autonomous and may feel less need to enter into interagency programs. When they do participate, it may be with the stipulation that they exert a major influence and will expect a larger share of the benefits [18, p. 68].

From their study they also concluded that "joint programs will have to be created so they do not threaten the control which agencies have over their own programs" [18, p. 68].

Let's continue with additional principles which deal with: whether different agencies have a coincidence of interest on the outcome of issues or not; and, which deal with agency cooperation and conflict:

5) Two or more agencies will likely interact in a cooperative manner (and collaborate on working toward an outcome) if their interests in the outcome of an issue coincide.

6) Two or more agencies will likely interact in a conflicting manner if their interests in the outcome of an issue diverge.

However, Warren also pointed out that there were several factors which influenced whether agencies would actually collaborate under the one situation or be in conflict under the second situation [25, pp. 206-7]. Briefly, the ones he identified were:

a) whether the agencies involved were aware of each other's interests (either for or against).

b) whether the agencies felt it was worth pursuing interaction (positive or negative) as any interaction would mean an additional allocation of resources to be diverted from other efforts.

c) whether the agencies concerned were able to mobilize resources needed for cooperation (Rogers and Molnar found this to be a particularly acute problem with small agencies that had limited resources of manpower, staff time, or finances and who might want to be involved in interagency efforts but couldn't--e.g., don't have staff members who could be assigned to liaison duties to attend meetings, write reports, etc. [18, p. 67].)

d) whether one or the other agency felt that interaction (positive or negative) would really make a difference in the issue outcome--i.e., an agency could see an opportunity for collaborating with another one but feels that this collaboration will really not make any significant difference in reaching their mutual goals.

e) whether the agencies involved had any previous experiences in interacting (positive or negative)--e.g., if two agencies had cooperated with good results in the past, the chances are they would cooperate again; the same holds true if they had been in conflict. (Rogers and Molnar found that agencies that have similar interests and have worked together over time tended to cluster together in terms of their patterns of interaction [18, p. 67].

f) whether there are any inducements for interacting (positively or negatively).

Rogers and Molnar's research findings suggest a few additional variables that would influence whether two or more agencies would interact positively or negatively [18]. There are:

g) whether the agencies are single purpose or multipurpose organizations will influence their becoming involved.

As Rogers and Molnar pointed out, "Single purpose organizations may have less need to interact because of their narrower program focus, their lower need for additional resources, and their smaller commonality with other groups" [18, p. 69].

h) whether agency administrators are "organization-centered" or "system-centered" in their orientations. Agencies with administrators who have a narrow viewpoints about their agencys' roles in development and who feel that they have most of the right answers will interact less than those which have administrators who view development broadly and concede that it takes the efforts of many agencies to deal with community problems [18, p. 69].

7) Agencies will escalate or reduce their interaction (positive or negative) with other agencies depending on the degree to which their organizations are involved--i.e., the more effort and resources are committed to interaction, the more the interaction will escalate. (Warren also pointed out that interactions will grow and diminish in a cyclical fashion [25, p. 209].)

8) Two agencies may engage in two or more different kinds of interaction, focusing on different issues, and involving different combinations of personnel, interests, territories, and resources--i.e., a part or level of an agency could be collaborating with a part of another agency while different parts of these agencies are involved in conflict.

   Obviously, this situation most often occurs among larger organizations.

The last five principles emphasize the complexity involved in interagency interactions, be they of a collaborative/cooperative nature or a contest/conflict nature.

Some implications

It is obvious from the previous discussion that getting interagency cooperation, collaboration and/or coordination is no simple task, despite the rhetoric that is often heard.

Let's try to summarize some of the implications for agency and CD workers:

1) The belief that interagency cooperation in CD efforts is good is still valid. But, we also need to recognize that just because there is such a need, it will not automatically happen.

2) We also need to recognize that interagency contest/conflict can have beneficial effects--to the community and to the agencies involved; it is not inherently "bad." But, conflict can and does have negative consequences when it escalates too far.

   Contest situations between agencies can provide incentives to each agency to provide:

   --Better services

   --Innovative services

--Services not previously provided

--Increased accountability for agency activities

3) The kind of agency we are a part of determines to a considerable extent the kind of responses we get when we try to work with other agencies:

--If our superiors have a negative attitude, we are likely to get a negative response. If they have a negative attitude, we might help them change.

--If our agency has been involved in past cooperative ventures or content/conflict, the response will probably reflect our track record. If in the past interaction was positive, cooperation will be relatively easy. If negative, we will have to overcome a barrier of suspicion, hostility and mistrust.

--The size of our agency will also influence reactions. If it is small, we need to carve out an identity and deal from there. If it is big, we need to take the initiative with smaller agencies, being sensitive to their need for survival.

--The age and strength of our agency will also be important. If it is new, we usually will need to be careful, but we can carefully work with others. If we are well established, we can take the initiative, again being sensitive to the other agencies survival needs.

4) Mandated interagency cooperation is very difficult except where all agencies are controlled through a hierarchy and the mandate can be enforced.

Thus, mandates for coordination usually end up being disregarded in actual practice.

5) One good way to obtain interagency cooperation is by starting to work together on new programs that can enhance the programs of all participating agencies and that are not a threat to any agency's territory or survival.

The key is to find a common goal and agreement on methods for achieving the goal.

6) The more interaction individual agency workers have with one another, the greater the chances for interagency cooperation. It means we have to constantly take the initiative in getting to know other agency people, even when we are not actually collaborating on specific programs.

7) The community (or its sub-systems) can play a major part in stimulating interagency cooperation:

   --By the power of the purse ("allocative" cooperation)

   --By defining needs and resources necessary for work on community problems. The community can thus coordinate agency programs without these agencies making a conscious effort to do so.

   --By providing inducements to agencies (e.g., good and/or bad reports to superiors or higher levels of hierarchy; or by reports, good and/or bad, to legislatures)

   Agency and CD workers can provide needed assistance by helping local communities understand the potential roles they can play and how to fulfill those roles.

   Communities that have mastered problem solving roles generally recognize their importance and act accordingly.

IMPROVING AND MAINTAINING INDIVIDUAL AND AGENCY EFFECTIVENESS

In this concluding section, we will try to deal with some general, broad principles or ideas that can help agencies and their workers be more effective and stay effective as they assist communities in development.

We will touch upon a few concepts or ideas, which might sound trite, corny, and self-evident, but which are crucial for effective CD. They bear repeating, as we all need to constantly remind ourselves about fundamentals of our work.

As agency workers involved in CD, we are a part of organizations or agencies which were created and supposedly exist to serve people and their communities.

Everybody agrees with this principle, but we often hear that the opposite is true--that bureaucracies, agencies, organizations act as if people are to serve them. Why?

Examples that illustrate why people feel this way are:

- --Communities sometimes spend more money in preparing and processing application forms than the total money they received as a result of the effort.
- --Individuals and communities are required to fill out forms and reports requiring information that's not neccessary and that will never be used.
- --Nurses wake up patients in order to give them sleeping pills.

Perhaps the point is made even more clear in the title of a short article by Ryan which reads, "Get rid of the people, and the system runs fine" [19]. In this article Ryan quotes from an English newspaper article:

> Complaints from passengers wishing to use the Bagnall to Greenfields bus service that "the drivers were speeding past queues of up to 30 people with a smile and a wave of a hand" have been met by a statement pointing out that "it is impossible for the drivers to keep their timetable if they have to stop for passengers" [19].

I'm sure everybody can recall similar "horror stories" from personal experience or hearsay.

How can such things happen? How can individuals and their agencies keep from falling into such traps?

The "problem" to "program" shift (IV-25)

Essentially, the problem is that there seems to be a natural tendency for bureaucracies and their employers to shift from an external orientation (the people they are to serve, the problems they are to help solve) to an internal orientation (to fulfilling internal agency requirements, procedures, methods of operations).

The shift is rarely a conscious and deliberate one.

It is gradual and we suddenly find ourselves in ridiculous and counter-productive situations before we realize what has happened.

It has a tendency to feed upon itself, thus creating situations that become worse and worse.

As we (or our agencies) begin gradually to get ourselves into such situations, the natural reaction is to rationalize our behavior (we don't want to lose face--admit to mistakes--there is a good reason for what we did, etc.). We thus continue in the same direction until we all at once find ourselves in a situation that we cannot rationalize away, and the "fat is in the fire."

This shift from an external to an internal orientation is the same as was discussed in Unit II of this Training where it was described in terms of a shift from "community development as a process" to "community development as a method" to "community development as a program."

This shift is characterized as one from a client orientation towards an agency orientation.

There are many interrelated factors which help impel us to shift in these directions, most of them having to do with our cultural background and how it influences our behavior as individuals and as bureaucracies.

The most important factor influencing us is our general background and orientation.

In our society, as Foster points out:

> . . . most professional training is designed in terms of programs rather than underlying problems, . . . Professional training produces program-oriented specialists. Only rarely does it produce problem-oriented specialists [4, p. 81].

That is, these specialists are trained more in terms of knowledge about standard solutions, that have evolved to deal with standard problems, than in how to identify and analyze problems and develop appropriate solution(s).

This system works well under most circumstances, but too often it doesn't.

An example of this is the way in which we respond to sewage treatment needs.

The standard solution is to build a sophisticated sewage treatment plant. Professionals who deal with this problem are well trained in building sewage treatment plants.

It works for most communities; but there are communities, particularly very small communities, that cannot afford and don't really need a new technologically sophisticated sewer treatment plant.

The usual solution is to force the community to build one anyway. Often no other alternative is explored, such as a simple lagoon sewage treatment system that would yield the same results.

The technicians are geared to thinking only in terms of their standard solution to a standard problem.

And, the bureaucracies, of which they are a part, also reflect this orientation.

Thus, they have only standard programs (a sewage treatment plant) to fit the specific situation.

And, nothing causes them to think about the problem, its extent, and the alternative ways of dealing with it that fit the local system.

The end result--people and communities have to adapt to the system rather than the system adapt to the people.

This program versus problem orientation is a difficult one to overcome because we, as individuals, often don't recognize that we are in its trap.

It is so obvious to us, that a particular program would help a community deal with its problems. Our training and experience tells us this is true.

We cannot conceive that our program could be completely wrong, not fit, have many negative consequences and even not solve the problem.

It isn't until after the program is applied and the consequences and results measured, that we find out that something went wrong. Even then, because we may be so program oriented, we don't understand why it didn't work.

Hall approaches this problem from a different perspective [10]. He says that, "We have been taught to think linearly rather than comprehensively . . . " [10, p. 12].

Hall has coined two terms which describe how two different cultural systems organize their thinking and the management of time and space. They are:

"Monochronic time" systems - which emphasize "schedules. segmentation, and promptness"

"Polychronic time" systems - which "stress involvement of people and completion of transactions rather than adherence to preset schedules" [10, p. 17]

Individuals who are a part of a "monochronic" cultural system tend to put priority on:

--Orderliness

--Specialization of function

--Compartmentalization

--Differentiation

--Delegation of responsibilities

--Systems

--Procedures

All at the eventual expense of being able to deal with people on their terms and within their context (their situation, problems, needs, ways of doing things, values, beliefs, etc.)

But, bureaucracies (agencies) are the creations of the people working in them.

Thus, bureaucracies in "monochronic time" cultural systems are compartmentalized, differentiated, have responsibilities which are greatly delegated, and are linear in their operations.

The net effect is that bureaucracies find it difficult to deal with people on their terms. Thus, they operate in such a manner that people whom they try to serve must adapt to the system or not receive help.

And eventually, we may actually hear someone say, "Get rid of the people so the system can run better!" And, what's worse, they may actually mean it.

Implications

Overall, this becomes a rather depressing picture. The question is, "What can we do about it?"

There are a number of things we, as agency and CD workers, can do to reduce the shift from problem to program, or client to agency, or external to internal orientation.

1) First, as individuals, we should recognize that what we do and how we behave does make a difference in our agency's orientation.

   We can gripe about the system, its inappropriateness and its inflexibility until we are blue in the face, but it won't change things. We, after all, are a major part of the system!

   What counts is what we do as individuals.

As individuals, we need to attempt to do things right, to be flexible, and to personally and individually keep from getting into the traps.

If enough individuals in an agency strive toward being flexible, toward making the programs of their agency fit the needs and problems of the people and communities they are supposed to serve, then the agency as a whole can stay flexible.

2) As agency and CD workers, we who are in contact with people in communities, should also help these people understand that their actions can force the "system" to adapt to their needs and problems.

In fact, as agency and CD workers, we must at times help local people "fight the system." This is tricky business, it's messy, and can have many negative personal consequences, so it must be done very carefully.

It is easier to not "buck the system"--to seek cover behind regulations, procedures, and traditional ways of doing things even if they don't make sense--than to try to see to it that when needed rules get bent and procedures are circumvented.

In other words, it means that we, as agency and CD workers, have a role in helping local people and local communities out of a partially disenfranchised situation.

3) As agency workers, we must continually strive to understand and relate to the needs, aspirations, problems, and opportunities of the people and communities we seek to serve.

This means we need to learn as much as possible about local conditions: physical and natural conditions; and cultural, social, and psychological conditions.

This need to relate to local conditions has been well documented for those who become involved in foreign "underdeveloped" societies and communities. However, the same principle applies to the United States.

Too often we make the mistaken assumption that all Americans and all communities in the United States are the same. They are in many respects, but there are vital differences between communities. If these differences are not taken into account, the "standard programs" won't fit and won't work.

We have been reasonably adept at considering differences in the physical and natural conditions of communities (e.g., a certain river and underlying geological formation preclude the building of certain kinds of dams or structures), but we have not been as perceptive about social and psychological differences that can be just as important.

Too often, when a "solution" is offered to a community to deal with a problem and its residents resist, they are treated as being ignorant and the project is pushed through. The assumption is made that we know more than they.

However, local people do know a great deal. They may know intuitively, and without actually knowing why, that something won't work. We need to listen more often and try to analyze if there are key social/psychological factors which could affect the outcome of a project. We can learn from them.

4) As members of agencies, we should strive to "work within the system" in helping our bureaucracies maintain a problem orientation and flexibility. As individuals who are a part of these organizations, we should work actively toward organizational renewal.

This means an ongoing process of review of the organization's purposes and their relevance to changed situations of the clientele the organization is supposed to serve.

We commonly hear the cliche, "Our job is to work ouselves out of a job"--meaning: we were created to deal with a problem; and when we have done so, we will fold up shop. This rarely happens.

Most agencies are given rather broad purposes or missions as a response to certain kinds of recurring problems that people or communities face. Programs are initially designed to deal with these, but over time conditions change.

Successful organizations adapt to these changes and change their programs to fit the new situation--they renew themselves.

Others don't change. The longer they resist change, the more inflexible, or the more program oriented, they become.

The longer agencies and individuals within them don't attempt to "renew" their organizations--shake them up some--the more difficult it becomes to do so. Thus, unless agencies are renewed, they tend to go their way until change becomes so difficult that a major upheaval is required.

5) A final point. Most of us have joined public agencies with a motivation of helping people.

The more we, as individuals, strive to keep our programs in communities on target, the greater the chances that these programs will actually help people and their communities.

Successful programs do provide us with a great sense of satisfaction. They fill our ego-needs, our need to see that we are accomplishing some good.

Therefore, we have a very vested interest in being able to provide appropriate and relevant help.

The more program oriented we become, the more dissatisfaction we will experience, the more frustrations we will suffer.

So remember, it helps to stay sane, to obtain genuine satisfaction in what one is doing, to feel active and productive, if we keep trying to deal with communities and their people with a problem or people orientation rather than a program orientation.

GOOD LUCK!!

Community Boundary Identification Exercise[15]

Background

This exercise is designed to help participants better understand in graphic form the concepts associated with "functional sub-communities" (or "local community social sub-systems"), how they are interrelated and how they relate to the "general community" (or "locality community system").

There are two parts to the exercise. The first consists of a presentation and demonstration of how to identify and map the various sub-communities/systems and the general community. The second consists of the exercise the participants go through as individuals and as small groups.

A total of two hours is needed for this exercise. The first part should not take more than half an hour, the second part about one and on one-half hours.

The best place to use this exercise is after the first two topics of this unit have been covered--i.e., after "Traditional Definitions of Community" and "Communities as Social System."

Presentation and demonstration

(This section demonstrates the boundaries of a community in Michigan. It might be well for the resource person conducting this exercise to use as an example a community he/she is well acquainted with and which participants might recognize.)

By mapping communities we can illustrate graphically how many community sub-systems are interrelated. This can give us new insights into the make-up and composition of communities we work in.

Before we ask you to do the exercise, we will give you an idea of how we can map community sub-systems (of functional sub-communities) and from these determine the boundaries of general communities.

Using a community we know well, we have attempted to map its various functional sub-communities. We only used a few key sub-communities: the political, educational, mass communications, and economic. The more we map, the more accurate we will be in plotting the boundaries of the general community; but these few will suffice to demonstrate the exercise.

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[15] This exercise is adapted from Kimball's paper "Understanding Community" and his companion exercise "Community Boundary Identification Exercise" [11, pp. 5-10].

1. First, on this map[16] we shall include the political community boundaries. It seems desirable to draw them first because they are usually a set of readily identifiable boundaries.
2. Because educational community boundaries are also usually easily identified, we will include them next.
3. Identifying mass communications sub-communities is somewhat more difficult because there are usually no identifiable boundaries. Drawing a boundary line at the outer edge of newspaper, radio, or T.V. coverage provides this boundary.
4. In a similar manner, identifying the employment drawing power of an industry, the distance shoppers travel, and/or the distance banking is done is the route to identifying the economic sub-community.
5. We could continue with other functional sub-communities; but for our purposes, the map is now well filled.

Now, by examining the pattern of boundary lines drawn on our map, we can identify the rough boundary of the general community and draw it in. This is the locality community where people have shared concerns, call their community by name, interact frequently, and whose territory is identified by the coincidence of many sub-community boundaries.

With this demonstration, we can now turn to the exercise where each of you can attempt to do the same procedure for the area you work in.

The exercise

Materials needed: (a) Large sheets of blank paper--no smaller than 11 x 17 (which can be three-hole punched and kept in a three-ring notebook); (b) Colored pencils or markers (black, yellow, red, and green is minimum); (c) A map of each participant's work area that can be used as a reference during the exercise.

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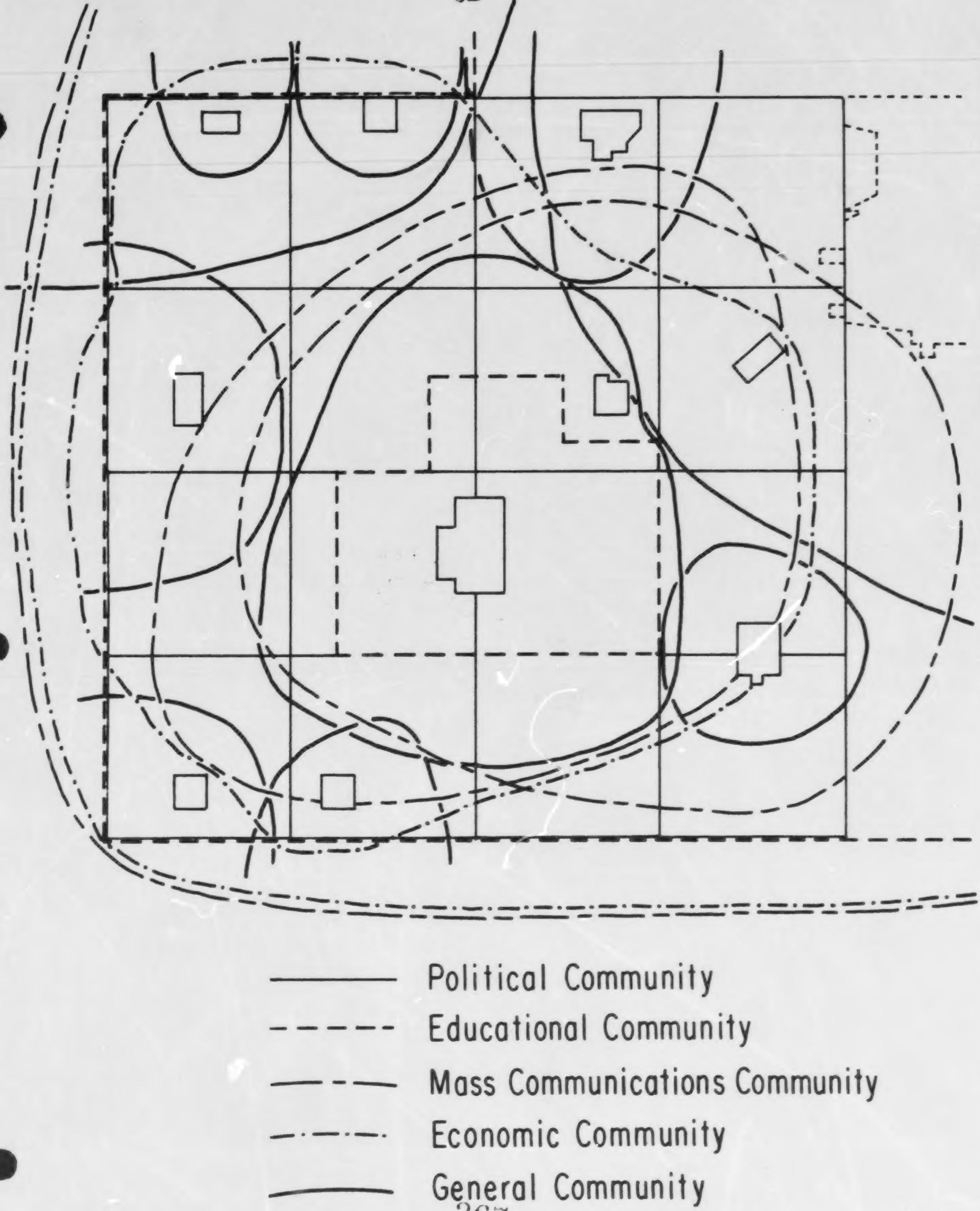
[16] An overhead transparency should be used to illustrate the various boundaries. (See the figure included on page 92, which shows how a map would appear when finished.)


—— Political Community
- - - - Educational Community
— - — Mass Communications Community
-·-·- Economic Community
—— General Community

Individual tasks: Using a sheet of blank paper provided and the largest scale possible, please complete the following steps:

1. Draw the political communities in your work territory[17] as best you can. Include those that are significant in your work, e.g., county(ies), townships(s), city(ies), major village(s) or other political communities. (Use a black pencil or marker.)
2. If adjacent counties or other political communities are really significant to your work territory, please also include them with dotted black lines.
3. Now draw (using the colored pencils or markers) the boundaries of the following functional communities which are frequently different than your political communities in your work territory:

   Yellow - Educational communities or any other special functional communities

   Red - Mass communications communities

   Green - Economic communities
4. Within your work territory, draw in the general communities. (Use a blue pencil or marker.)

Group tasks: Now, for purposes of comparing notes and having some experience in describing the various communities with which you are associated, we suggest that you assemble in the following groups (which may be adjusted, if necessary, according to the composition of the participant group):

Group I: Those whose work territory is one county with all communities under 10,000.

Group II: Those whose work territory is one county with at least one community of 10,000 to 50,000.

Group III: Those whose work territory is one county with at least one community of over 50,000.

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[17] If your territory is too large for this exercise, or if there is some difficulty in identifying your territory, choose a community you know well, such as your previous work community or your home community. It is important that you select a territory that you are familiar with and that it be small enough to make feasible the mapping of political, functional, and general communities.

Group IV: Those whose work territory is multi-county with all communities under 10,000

Group V: Those whose work territory is multi-county with at least one community of 10,000 to 50,000.

Group VI; Those whose work territory is multi-county with at least one community over 50,000.

Each group please complete the following steps:

1. Choose a chairman and recorder.
2. Each report what you have recorded. (Show and tell.)
3. As a group, identify similarities and differences.
4. The recorder will be asked to share the important similarities and differences with the total group.

Group reports: Each group report, to the participants as a whole, the important similarities and differences found for their group. After each report, these findings can be discussed by the participants.

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THE GENERAL COMMUNITY

A GROUP OF PEOPLE WITH:

- SHARED IDENTITY, INTERESTS, ATTITUDES AND ACTIVITIES
- CONTINUOUS & FREQUENT INTERACTION
- AN IDENTIFIABLE GEOGRAPHIC AREA

COMMUNITY AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM
(Warren's perspective)

COMMUNITY IS:

- A COMBINATION OF SOCIAL UNITS & SYSTEMS WHICH PERFORM THE MAJOR SOCIAL FUNCTIONS HAVING LOCALITY RELEVANCE

LOCALITY RELEVANT FUNCTIONS:

1. PRODUCTION - DISTRIBUTION - CONSUMPTION
2. SOCIALIZATION
3. SOCIAL CONTROL
4. SOCIAL PARTICIPATION
5. MUTUAL SUPPORT

SOCIAL SYSTEM (WARREN)

A SOCIAL SYSTEM:

- IS AN ORGANIZATION OF UNITS (INDIVIDUALS OR SUB-SYSTEMS)
- HAS INTERACTION AMONG MEMBER UNITS
- HAS INTERACTION CONTINUING OVER TIME
- HAS INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL LINKAGES
- HAS A BOUNDARY WHICH IS MAINTAINED
- ATTEMPTS TO REMAIN IN EQUILIBRIUM

SOCIAL SYSTEM (LOOMIS)

A SOCIAL SYSTEM:

- IS A STRUCTURE COMPOSED OF TWO OR MORE INDIVIDUALS
- HAS PATTERNED AND MUTUALLY ORIENTED RELATIONS
- HAS MEMBERS WHO SHARE DEFINITIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

(IV-5)

SOCIAL SYSTEM ELEMENTS & MASTER PROCESSES
(Loomis' Perspective)

ELEMENTS

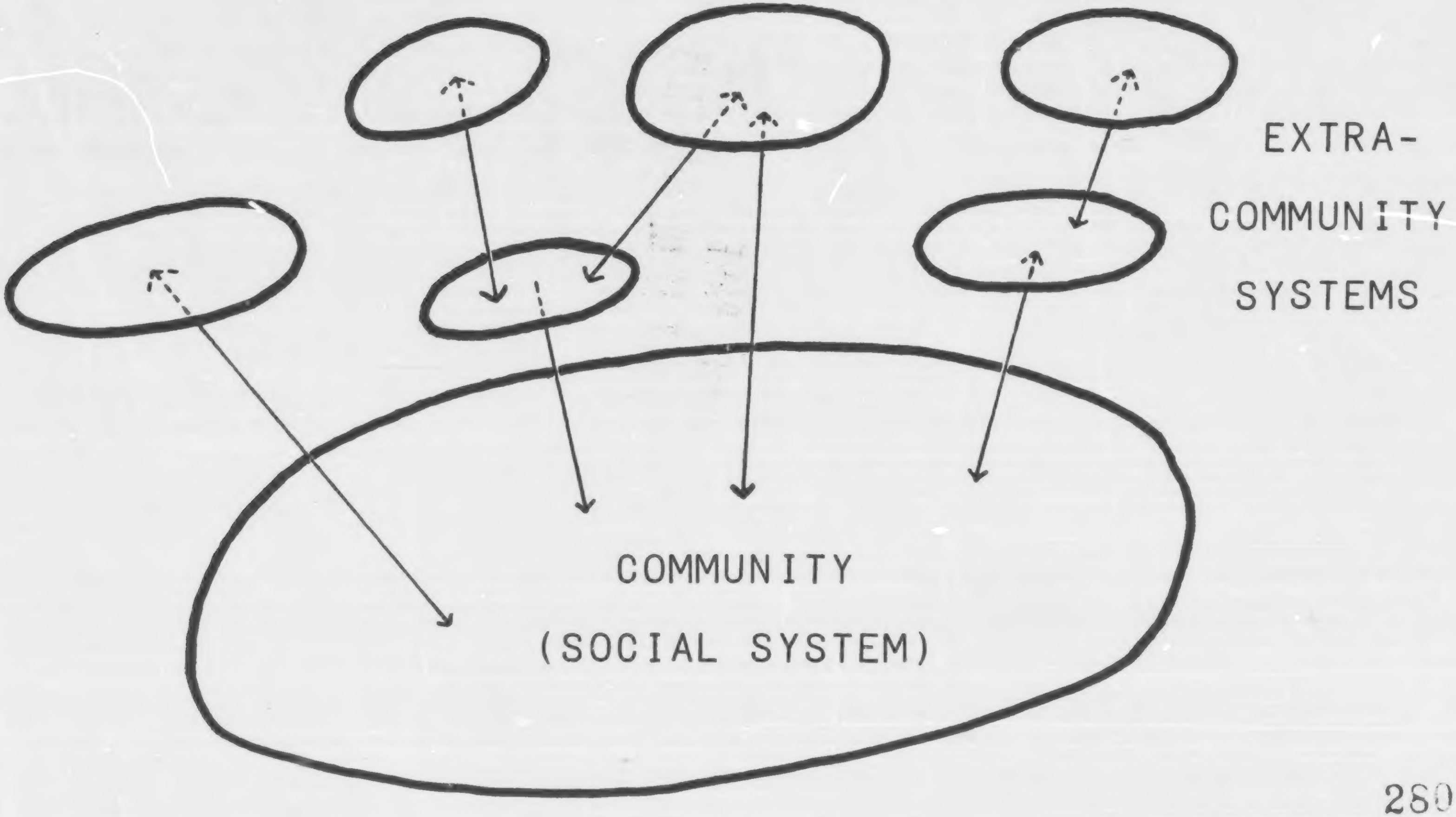
1. END
2. FACILITY
3. NORM
4. SANCTION
5. STATUS ROLE
6. RANK
7. POWER
8. BELIEF
9. SENTIMENT

MASTER PROCESSES

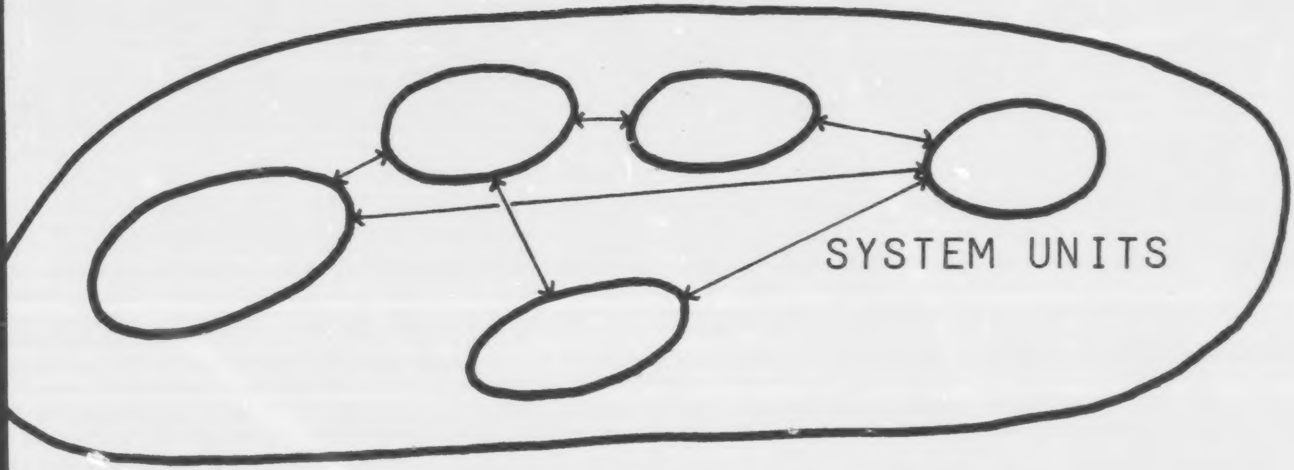
1. COMMUNICATIONS
2. BOUNDARY MAINTENANCE
3. SYSTEMIC LINKAGE
4. SOCIALIZATION
5. SOCIAL CONTROL
6. INSTITUTIONALIZATION

(IV-6)

VERTICAL LINKAGES


EXTRA-
COMMUNITY
SYSTEMS
COMMUNITY
(SOCIAL SYSTEM)

HORIZONTAL LINKAGES


SYSTEM UNITS

COMMUNITY (SOCIAL SYSTEM)

SOCIAL POWER

SOCIAL POWER COMES FROM:

- AUTHORITY
- CONTROL OF RESOURCES
- COMBINATION

POWER STRUCTURES

- ONE PERSON
- TIGHTLY KNIT GROUP
- SPLIT COMMUNITY
- POWER POOL

POWER ACTORS

- MALE
- OLDER
- HIGHER INCOME
- HIGHER EDUCATION
- HIGHER STATUS OCCUPATIONS
- LONG-TIME RESIDENTS
- CONTROL/ACCESS TO RESOURCES

IDENTIFYING POWER ACTORS

- POSITIONAL APPROACH
- REPUTATIONAL APPROACH
- DECISIONAL APPROACH
- SOCIAL PARTICIPATION APPROACH

ELEMENTS OF THE "GREAT CHANGE"

1. DIVISION OF LABOR
2. DIFFERENTIATION OF INTEREST
3. INCREASED SYSTEMIC RELATIONSHIPS TO LARGER SOCIETY
4. BUREAUCRATIZATION & IMPERSONALIZATION
5. TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS TO PROFIT ENTERPRISE AND GOVERNMENT
6. URBANIZATION AND SUBURBANIZATION
7. CHANGING VALUES

SIX DECISION MAKING PERSPECTIVES

1. POWER ACTOR OR POWER STRUCTURE
2. DIFFERENTIAL PARTICIPATION
3. PROCESS
4. HOLISTIC
5. COST OF DECISION
6. INDIVIDUAL CENTERED

ELEMENTS OF THE COMMUNITY PROBLEM SOLVING PROCESS

1. EXAMINING THE SITUATION
2. ARRIVING AT GOALS
3. IDENTIFYING KEY PROBLEMS
4. DETERMINING PRIORITIES
5. CONSIDERING ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS
6. SELECTING COURSES OF ACTION
7. DEVELOPING ACTION PLAN
8. IMPLEMENTING PLAN
9. EVALUATING
10. REPEAT STEPS 1 - 9

CITIZEN

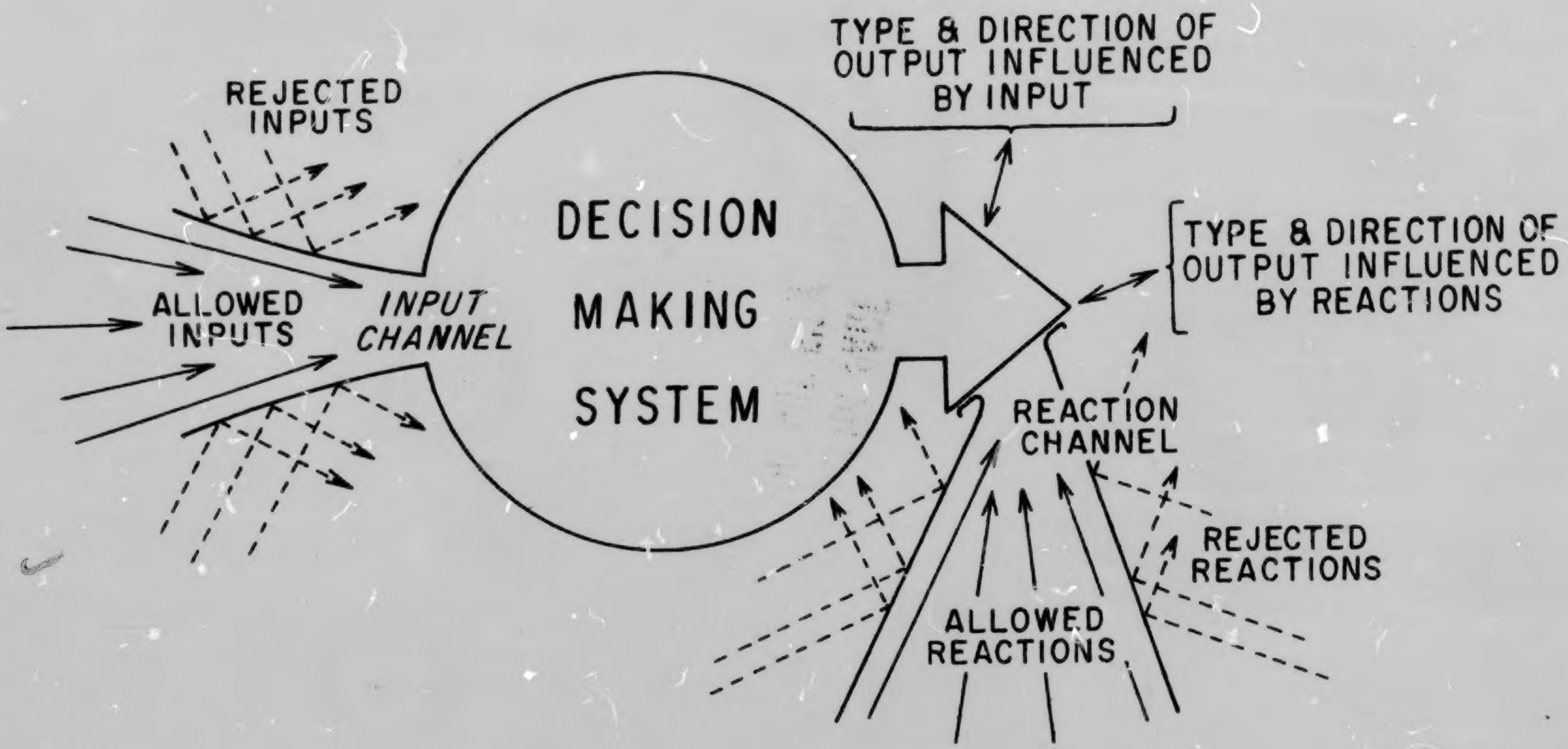
- A VARIABLE ROLE
- TWO FUNCTIONS
  - MAKE INPUTS
  - REACT TO OUTPUTS
- OPEN ROLE
- NOT PRESCRIBED
- FLEXIBLE
- CAN BE LEARNED

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

. INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM OF CHOICE IN SELECTING WHEN, WHERE, HOW, AND FOR WHAT TO PARTICIPATE

2. THERE IS NO SINGLE "RIGHT" WAY TO PARTICIPATE

3. THE MORE PARTICIPATE, THE BETTER


TYPE & DIRECTION OF OUTPUT INFLUENCED BY INPUT
REJECTED INPUTS
DECISION MAKING SYSTEM
TYPE & DIRECTION OF OUTPUT INFLUENCED BY REACTIONS
ALLOWED INPUTS
INPUT CHANNEL
REACTION CHANNEL
REJECTED REACTIONS
ALLOWED REACTIONS

CONFLICT

1. THREATS BY ONE PARTY TO TERRITORY OF ANOTHER PARTY
2. PARTIES REFUSE TO AGREE ON:
   - WHAT IS AN ISSUE
   - WHAT TO DO ABOUT AN ISSUE

CONFLICT CYCLE

1. TENSION DEVELOPMENT
2. ROLE DILEMMA
3. INJUSTICE COLLECTING
4. CONFRONTATION
5. ADJUSTMENT

DESCRIPTIVE APPROACHES TO CD

1. THE "COMMUNITY" APPROACH
2. THE "EDUCATION" APPROACH
3. THE "HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT" APPROACH
4. THE "PLANNING, DESIGN, AND ARCHITECTURE" APPROACH
5. THE "COMMUNITY FACILITIES IMPROVEMENT AND PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT" APPROACH
6. THE "ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT" APPROACH

DESCRIPTIVE APPROACHES TO CD (continued)

7. THE "REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT" APPROACH
8. THE "POWER STRUCTURE" APPROACH
9. THE "HELPING THE DISADVANTAGED" APPROACH
10. THE "CONFLICT" APPROACH
11. THE "RADICAL CHANGE" OR "REFORM" APPROACH
12. THE "REVOLUTION" OR "TOTAL CHANGE" APPROACH

COLLABORATIVE STRATEGIES

"ISSUE CONSENSUS" SITUATIONS

- CHANGE AGENT IS:
    - FACILITATOR
    - STIMULATOR
    - CATALYST
    - COMMUNICATOR
- OUTCOME IS:
    - CONSENSUS ON ISSUE OR PROPOSED SOLUTION

CAMPAIGN STRATEGIES

"ISSUE DIFFERENCE" SITUATIONS

- CHANGE AGENT IS:
  - PERSUADER
  - CAMPAIGNER
  - CONVINCER
- OUTCOME IS:
  - ISSUE CONSENSUS ON ISSUE OR PROPOSED SOLUTION (CONSENSUS USUALLY REACHED BY COMPROMISE)

CONTEST STRATEGIES

"ISSUE DISSENSUS" SITUATIONS

- CHANGE AGENT IS:

  CONTESTANT FIGHTING TO WIN

- OUTCOME IS:

  ONE SIDE WINS

CONTEXTS OF INTERAGENCY INTERACTION

1. UNITARY
2. FEDERATIVE
3. COALITIONAL
4. SOCIAL CHOICE

(IV-25)

"PROBLEM" TO "PROGRAM" SHIFT

EXTERNAL ORIENTATION → INTERNAL ORIENTATION

CLIENT ORIENTATION → PROCEDURAL AND OPERATIONAL ORIENTATION

PROBLEM ORIENTATION → PROGRAM ORIENTATION

THE COMMUNITY COORDINATOR--THE SOCIAL MILIEU IN WHICH HE WORKS[*]

George M. Beal[**]

Introduction

As I see it, you coordinators are attempting to establish systemic linkages between social systems. These social systems often have diffuse and diverse goals which may be complementary but often are competitive. You are trying to change the saliency of the goals of these social systems to be highly complementary to yours, or you may attempt to displace existing goals and substitute your own. Most of these social systems are highly institutionalized and dedicated to boundry maintenance. The professionals who work in them (and often control or direct them) are highly socialized in their professions--their referents and referent group norms are often other professionals or authority figures higher in the bureaucracy, rather than the local agency or community. In your status-role, you have little social power--either authority or influence. You have few sanctions--rewards or punishments--at your disposal. Yet, many sanctions can be brought against you by others if you don't carry out your role performance in accordance with their latent desires.

This is one way of describing your role. The sociological "jargon" may be one way of describing the situation in which you must operate and may aid in better understanding some of the problems you face. However, hopefully we can find a better set of concepts to use for our communication purposes at this conference. However, this "shock" introduction may illustrate several points. First, the difficulty of an outsider coming into the middle of a loosely structured conference (with much free discussion) and making relevant comments (non-repetitive) when he does not know you and your client systems intimately. Secondly, perhaps one contribution one can make is offering a set of concepts that place a different or new perspective on your role and the social milieu which you operate.

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[*] Summary of a paper given at the National Conference for Staff of Interagency Smoking Councils, Sponsored by the National Clearinghouse on Smoking and Health, USPHS, at San Mateo, California, April 2-5, 1967. At first glance the title of this paper would indicate that it has little applicability to Unit IV. The content is highly relevant, however. Of particular importance are the sections dealing with social system linkages.

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The formal part of my presentation will emphasize the latter point; namely, I will attempt to provide a conceptual framework, with sub-concepts, that may help to more clearly understand a part of the social milieu in which coordinators attempt to perform their role.

The Territoriality Based Social System

There are a number of frames of reference from which this discussion could be approached. One meaningful frame of reference may be that of the territoriality based social system. By territoriality is meant the geographic base or space dimension of social systems that are formally, informally or psychologically designated as meaningful arenas of identity, interaction, administration, planning, decision making, or action. For example: Nation, Region, State, Districts, Multi-County, County, City, Other Civil Divisions (e.g., Conservation or Zoning District), Community or Multi-Community, Community Chest areas, Hospital area, School Districts, etc.

These territoriality based social systems may be elaborated further:

1. Territoriality based social systems are for the most part those social systems in which living in them makes one a member of them, e.g., city, school district, county, community. This type of territoriality social system may be contrasted with what are commonly called voluntary associations or special interest groups in which the individual has the right to choose whether or not he desires to be a member.

2. They allow for (and are actually used as) a means of breaking complex social systems (e.g., nation) down into manageable subsystems for legal, administrative, decision making, planning, and action purposes.
3. The territoriality social system approach is one of the few ways that guarantees responsibility for complete coverage of all people in complex social systems--the territoriality social system encompasses all people in the territoriality.
4. People reside in, live in, interact in, seek services in, may be legally responsible to and to an extent identify with various territorialities. At a general level there are shared values, beliefs, norms, goals, etc. held by people in these territorial systems.
5. These territorialities are the arenas in which problems arise, decisions are made, planning is carried out and action is taken for what is assumed to be the common good of the members of the system.

Even local territoriality social systems are very complex. By local we refer mainly to a county or a smaller unit--city, combinations of cities or community. How can we better understand the components (elements subsystems) of these local territoriality social systems?

At a general level they can be categorized into types of social systems--not necessarily completely mutually exclusive types.

CATEGORIES OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS

INSTITUTIONS	(family, government, education, religion, economic, recreation and cultural arts)
FORMAL VOLUNTARY	(PTA, Rotary, Chamber of Commerce, League of Women Voters, Boy Scouts, etc.)
AGENCY	(Public--health, welfare, OCD, Employment Service; Private--Red Cross, Cancer Society, etc.)
INFORMAL	(Neighborhood, friendship, power structures, etc.)
TERRITORIALITY	(Within the designated local territoriality system--discussed above--there may be further meaningful

	delineation of sub-territoriality systems, e.g., neighborhoods, suburban developments, residential areas with differential status, etc.)
SOCIAL CLASS	(Least mutually exclusive category. However, an analysis of a local territoriality social system in terms of its class structure may be a valuable analysis and planning tool. For example, an understanding of how classes differ in terms of the following characters may be of value: values, needs, prestige, influence, community participation, organizational structure, role resources, etc.

Social System Concepts

The above categories of social systems can be very meaningful in breaking down complex local territoriality systems into more understandable and meaningful units. However, more precise concepts are needed to more fully understand these social systems.

One approach to this more precise conceptualization is that of sociologist Charles P. Loomis.[1] This model (with some adaptation) will be used here.

A general definition of a social system is that it is composed of two or more individual actors (persons) whose relations to each other are patterned and mutually oriented. These actors share common definitions, symbols and expectations. In short, a social system is a viable, interact human group.

Chances are that you belong to a large number of social systems. Your family may be considered a social system. Then there are small informal groups: the morning coffee group, the card group or just a small group of friends who like to "get together" often. Your work group is a social system. You are probably also a member of several larger, more formal social systems: the Lion's Club, the PTA, the Masons, the church.

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[1] Charles P. Loomis. Social Systems. D. Van Norstrand Co., Inc. Princeton, New Jersey, 1960.

You may be a member of a school board, the welfare board, a health council. These, too, are social systems. You also belong to other, yet larger and more diffuse social systems such as the community, the city, the county, the state and the nation.

From these few examples it can be seen that the concept "social system" can be applied to almost any collection of individual persons so long as these persons relate themselves to one another in a patterned or predictable way and share common definitions, symbols and expectations.

One analytical tool which can aid the change agent in understanding his community and its many subsystems is the conceptual model of social systems. As previously noted, a social system is a human group. However, the term "social system" is more than a substitute for the term "group." It is much more specific and precise. It is not one idea or definition, but a set of interrelated ideas. It takes into consideration the fact that while social systems do have apparent differences, they also have many fundamental similarities. All social systems are similar in that they are built of elements, or units of social structure and function. For example, all social systems have goals and all have ways and means of reaching these goals. All social systems have accepted ways of behavior, or norms, and all can and do impose rewards and punishments, or sanctions, on their members for conformity to or deviation from these accepted ways of behavior. In addition to elements, several social processes are found to occur in every social system. For example, communication takes place among the members of every social system.

On first exposure it may appear to you that the social systems model is too abstract and too general--too academic--to be of use in social action. However, it is this very abstractness which makes the social system concept worthwhile. It is the fact that social systems have similarities on an abstract level--that each social system has elements and processes --which allows us to analyze and to compare and contrast two or more social systems.

Social system elements

Every social system has certain elements, or units of social structure and function. Nine elements are present in every social system, even though the content, or specific quality of these elements, varies from one system to another. These elements are as follows:

End, goal or objective Ends, goals or objectives are the changes which the actors of the social system strive to accomplish through operation of the system.

Facility Facilities are the means used by the social system to attain its goals. The means used include physical, financial, individual human and social resources. One may also consider interaction patterns, activities and programs as means used by the system to attain its ends.

Norm Norms are the standards which influence the range of goal choices and govern the selection and application of means in the attainment of these goals or ends. Norms determine the range of accepted actions within a social system. They set the framework within which the stated ideals (goals and ways of attaining same) will be achieved in the ongoing interaction process. It may be said that norms are the "rules of the game."

Sanction Sanctions are the rewards and penalities which the social system uses to attain motivation and conformity to the goals, means and norms of the system. Sanctions may be either positive or negative. The positive forms are rewards in the form of increased rank or privilege, praise, new opportunities, etc. The negative forms are punishments in the forms of withdrawal of privileges, lowering of status, etc.

Status-role (position) A status-role is a position and a set of expectations for an individual actor in a social system. These two terms (status and role) combine structure and function.

A status is a position in a social system. For example, the position of mayor is one of the status-roles of city government. Status describes the position of mayor in relation to other positions in the city government.

As the result of occupying a status, the individual is expected to act in certain specified ways and carry out certain functions in the maintenance of the social system of which he is a part. In formalized social systems roles are a function of status. In less formal systems the status of an individual often helps determine his role.

Rank Rank is the relative status of actors in a social system. In general, it may be said that any given social system prescribes ranks to the various members based upon their qualifications for attaining the system's goals, adhering to its norms or upon their past achievements. The rank given the individual occupying the office of mayor may be determined in part by the status the community gives the office of mayor and the extent to which the mayor has performed the roles which the community expects him to play. In addition to ranking the individual as a mayor, the community may consider other status-roles which the individual is occupying. They may include family role, church affiliation, formal organization membership and participation in informal groups. Thus, total rank in a social system such as a community may be dependent on many factors. At a slightly higher level of generality we may speak of the rank subsystems (e.g., a formal organization) have in the larger social system (e.g., community).

Power Power is the capability to control the behavior of others. Power is divided into two components which include nonauthoritative and authoritative control. These two components are referred to as influence and authority. In fluence is that capability to control the behavior of others which is not formally designated in the authority component of the status-role. Authority is the legal right, as determined by the members of the social system, to control the behavior of others.

Belief (knowledge) A belief is an individual actor's perception of the relationships that exist between phenomena within the universe. Phenomenon is used here in its broadest sense, i.e., something which can be observed. Individual actors within any given social system usually perceive these relationships in a similar manner. Scientific knowledge differs from belief in that the relationships of the phenomena within the universe are observed according to rigorously established criteria commonly referred to as the scientific method. These relationships can be observed by men of different beliefs in different times and places in a similar manner.

Sentiment   Sentiments are the normative feelings which are expressive and represent what the individual actor feels about phenomena in the world. Sentiments or feelings are closely related to beliefs. Beliefs are viewed as "what we know" about the world and sentiments are expressive and represent "what we feel" about the world. A sentiment is an individual actor's feeling about what the right, good, moral or acceptable relationship between phenomena in the universe ought to be. Attitudes, or tendencies to act in relation to stimuli, are derived from the beliefs and sentiments of individual actors.

Social system processes

The social systems model elements presented above tend to view a social system in a static form. This static model has utility in analyzing social systems. In reality the elements of the social system do not remain static for any length of time. Each of the elements presented above may be viewed in their dynamic process; e.g., belief may be seen as a process of cognitive mapping and validation; ends or goal attainment may be seen as achieving; norms may be viewed as a process in evaluating; etc.

However, within each social system there are master processes which integrate, stabilize and alter the relationships between the elements through time. As defined by Loomis each master process is characterized by (1) a consistent quality of regular and uniform sequences and (2) is distinguishable by virtue of its orderliness. These master processes which integrate or involve several or all of the more specific elements are: communication, boundary maintenance, systemic linkage, socialization, social control and institutionalization. To help clarify the elements of the social system in a dynamic form, these master processes are defined below.

Communications   Communication is the exchange of meaningful symbols among the actors within a social system. It is the process by which an individual transmits information, decisions and directives to other members.

Boundary maintenance   Boundary maintenance is the process by which the social system establishes and retains its identity, solidarity and interaction patterns. It is the process by which members in the system and those outside the system are made aware of the identity and uniqueness of a given system.

Systemic linkage   Systemic linkage is the process by which one social system relates itself to other social systems and interacts with these systems. In the process the elements of the two social systems are articulated so that in some ways the systems function as a single system.

Socialization   Socialization is the process through which the social and cultural heritage is transmitted. It is through this process that individual actors learn the sentiments, beliefs, ends and norms of a social system.

Social control   Social control is the process by which the social system rewards and punishes its members. The elements of beliefs, sentiments, norms, power and sanctions are interrelated in the process of social control in the community.

Institutionalization   Institutionalization is the process whereby human behavior is made predictable and patterned; social systems are given the elements of structure and the processes of function. Community members in the process of socialization learn norms and sentiments. These elements are articulated by community members in similar ways within a wide range of situations. In this way human behavior can be predicted and is said to become institutionalized.

Conditions for social action

In addition to the elements and processes, there are certain attributes of social systems which are never completely controlled by the system's members. These are referred to as general conditions for social action. They include territoriality, size and time.

Territoriality   Territoriality refers to the physical area of the social system.

Size   Size refers to the number of actors in the social system.

Time   Time refers to the temporal dimension (past, present and future) of the social system.

Vertical and Horizontal Orientations

Thus far we have discussed: (1) territoriality based social systems with emphases on counties, cities or communities, (2) categories of social systems and (3) social system concepts. Local change agents and coordinators must work within local territorialities. In most cases they are a part of a vertical bureaucracy, i.e., they are a part of some bureaucratic structure with various levels and headquarters outside of the local territoriality. However, they attempt to carry out their activities in the local territoriality, i.e., they attempt to work with local individuals, institutions, agencies, formal groups, informal groups, categories of people or the community as a whole--they attempt to orient themselves horizontally in the community.

The discussion that follows will focus on a set of concepts that it is hoped will help better understand: (1) the dynamics of local territorialities, (2) vertical orientations, and (3) problems of horizontal orientations.[1]

A. A common assumption: The local territoriality is a unified and integral unit of larger society (see Figure 1).
   1. Local territorialities are often conceptualized as being unified social systems that are integrally related to the larger society as units.
   2. Though there is some validity to this conceptualization a more accurate conceptualization of the manner by which local territorialities are linked to the larger society is as follows.

B. Differentiated vertical linkages (see Figure 2).
   1. A more accurate description of how the local territoriality (e.g., community) is linked to outside world is probably in terms of differentiated vertical linkages.
   2. Within the local territoriality (e.g., community) there are many diverse local subsystems: retail outlets, manufacturing plants, banks, churches, public and private agencies, units of government, schools, formal voluntary associations, etc.

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[1] An elaboration of some of these ideas may be found in Roland L. Warren, The Community in America, Rand McNally and Co., 1963.

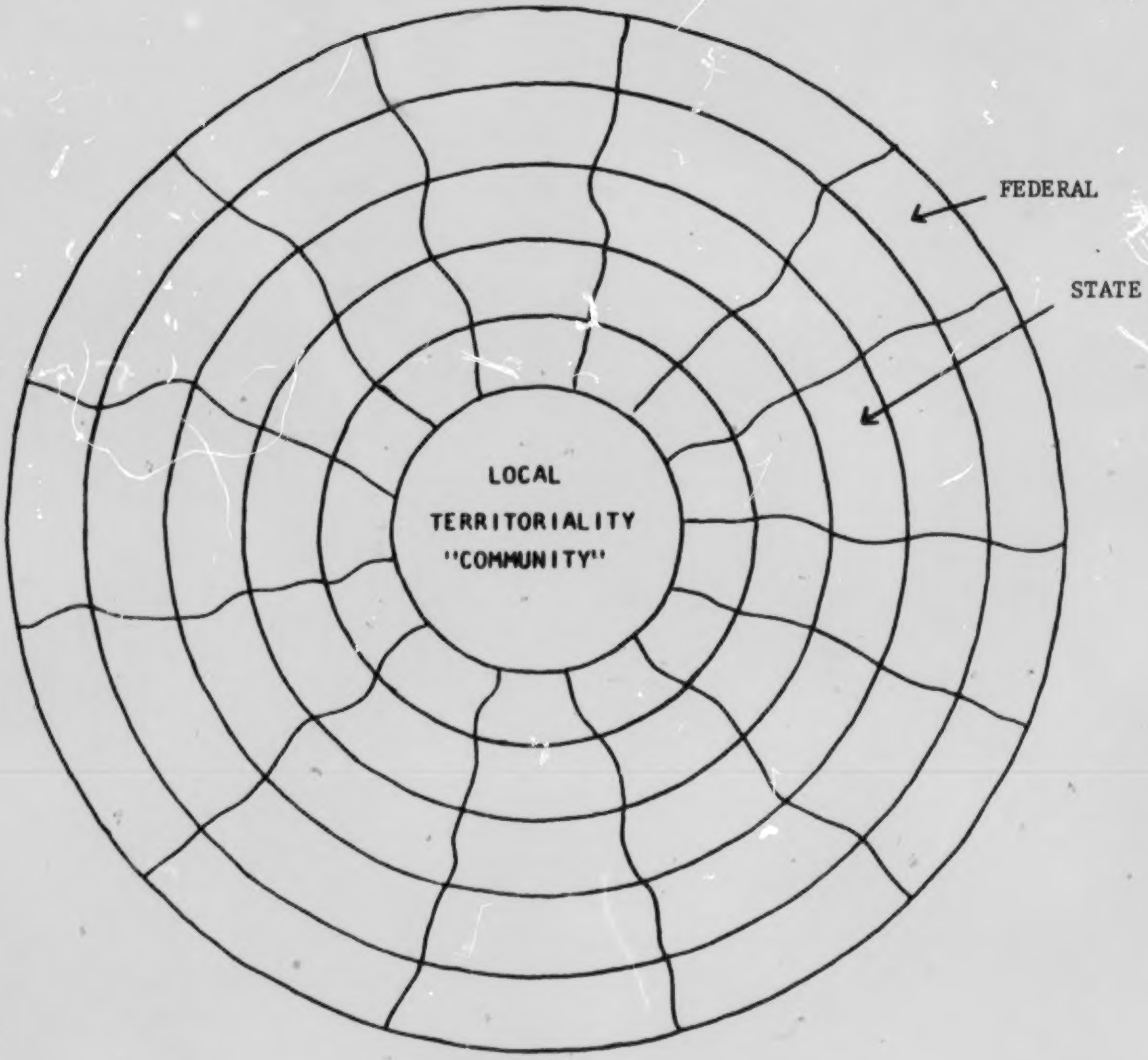
FEDERAL
STATE
LOCAL
TERRITORIALITY
"COMMUNITY"

Figure 1. Total system linkage

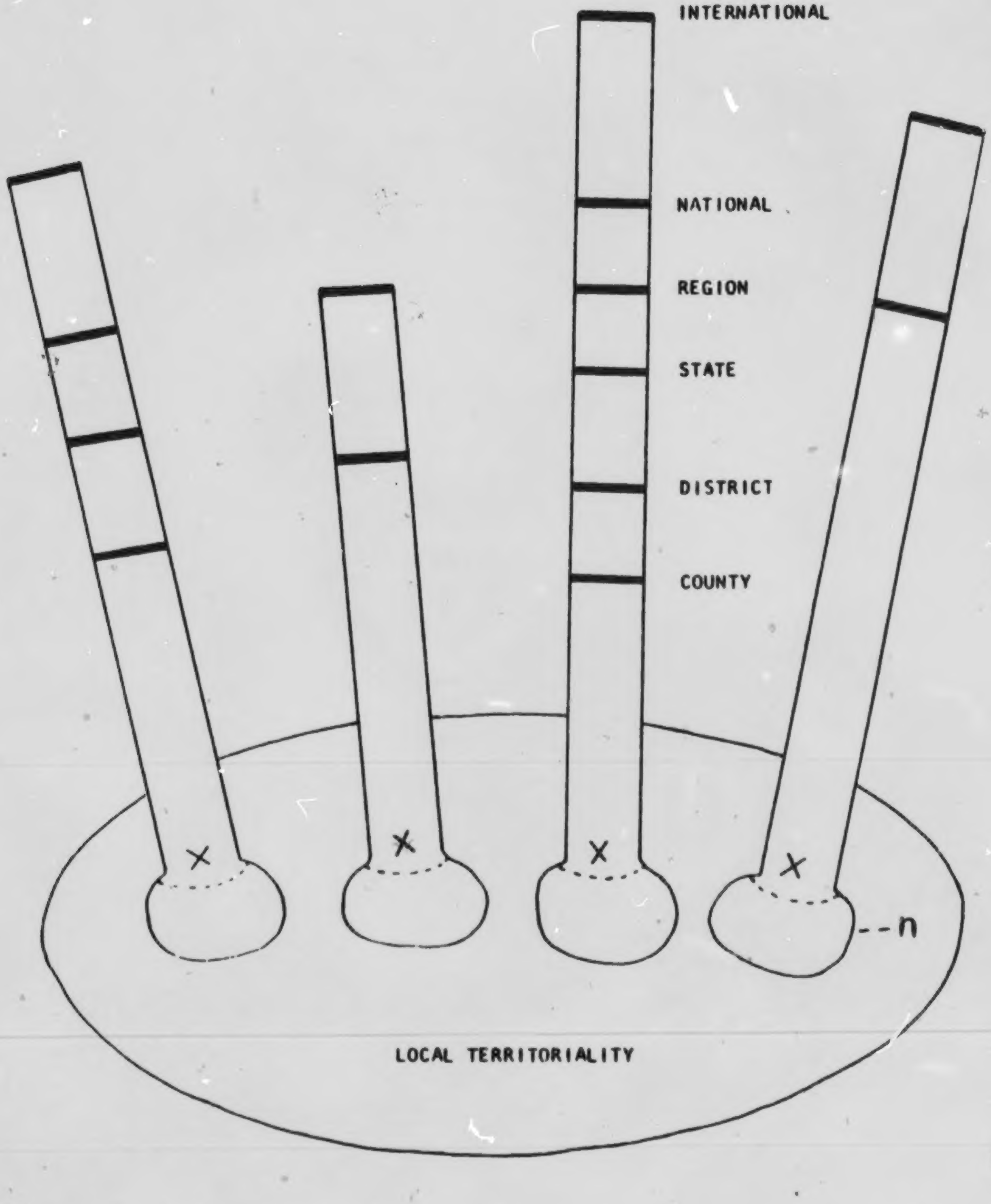
INTERNATIONAL
NATIONAL
REGION
STATE
DISTRICT
COUNTY
X
X
X
X
--n
LOCAL TERRITORIALITY

Figure 2. Differentiated linkage

a. Each of these differentiated local subsystems is linked in some fashion with the outside world through vertical linkages.

b. These local subsystems usually have (when compared with each other) diverse goals, policies, programs, beliefs, sentiments, norms, etc.

--different geographic headquarters

--different (though often overlapping) memberships

--different reference groups

--different clienteles

c. These local subsystems are usually more vertically oriented (are oriented to the system of which they are a part vertically outside the community) than they are horizontally oriented (oriented to other social systems in the community or the total community).

3. A typology of organisations may illustrate this point.

C. A typology of vertical and horizontal orientation--local territoriality subsystems (see Figure 3).

1. Verticle orientation

2. Horizontal orientation

D. A second typology of local territoriality subsystems can be constructed. It is usually meaningful to consider it in combination with the above typology. It deals with orientation within the local territoriality social system. Four types and possible examples are presented (see Figure 4).

1. Complete internal orientation--high boundary maintenance, no systemic linkage.

--social club

--women's fraternal lodge

2. High internal orientation--high boundary maintenance, minimum linkage.

--Moose Lodge--puts on community Halloween party for children

--Elks Lodge--put on high school all night graduation party

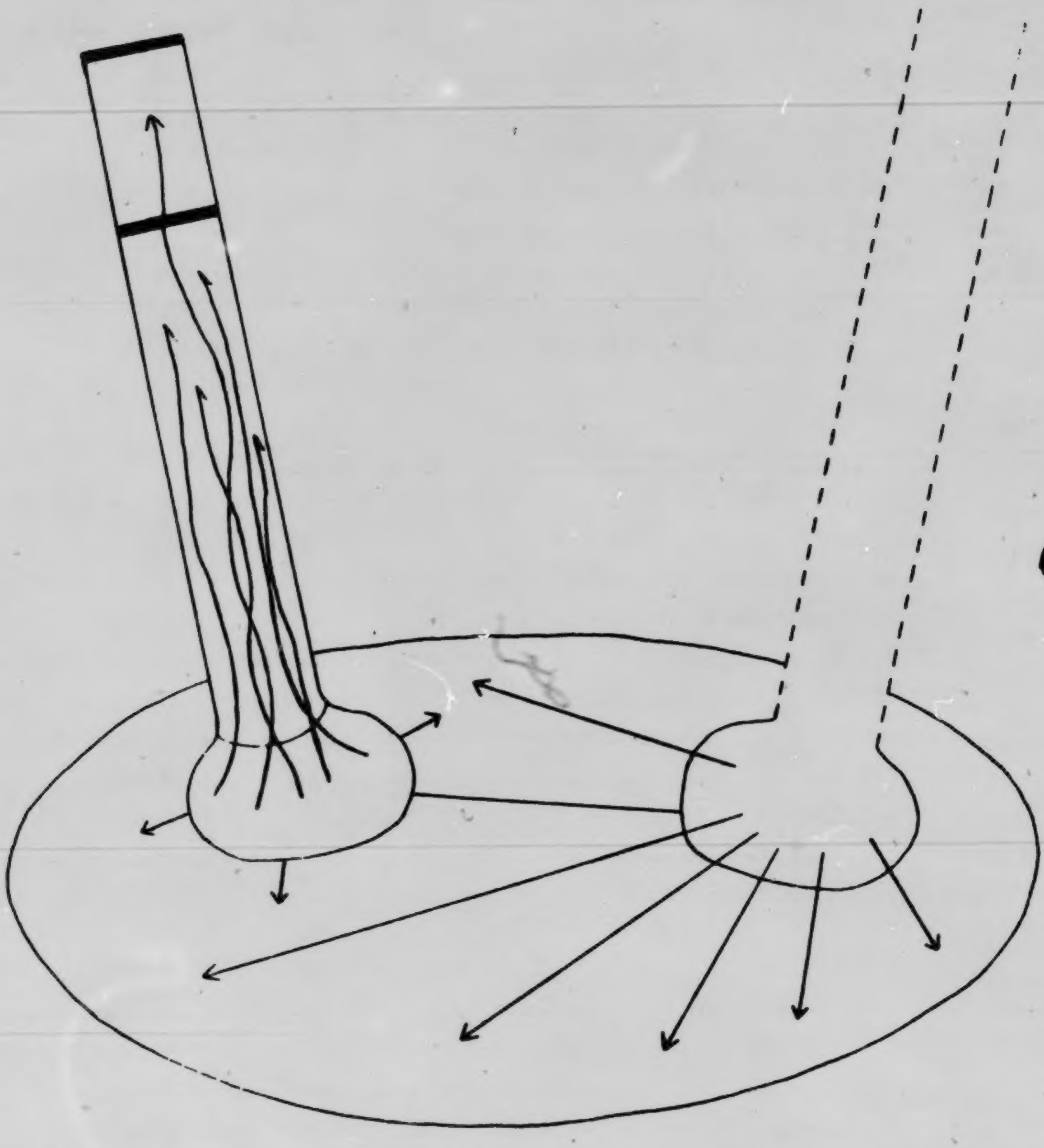

Figure 3. Vertical - horizontal typology

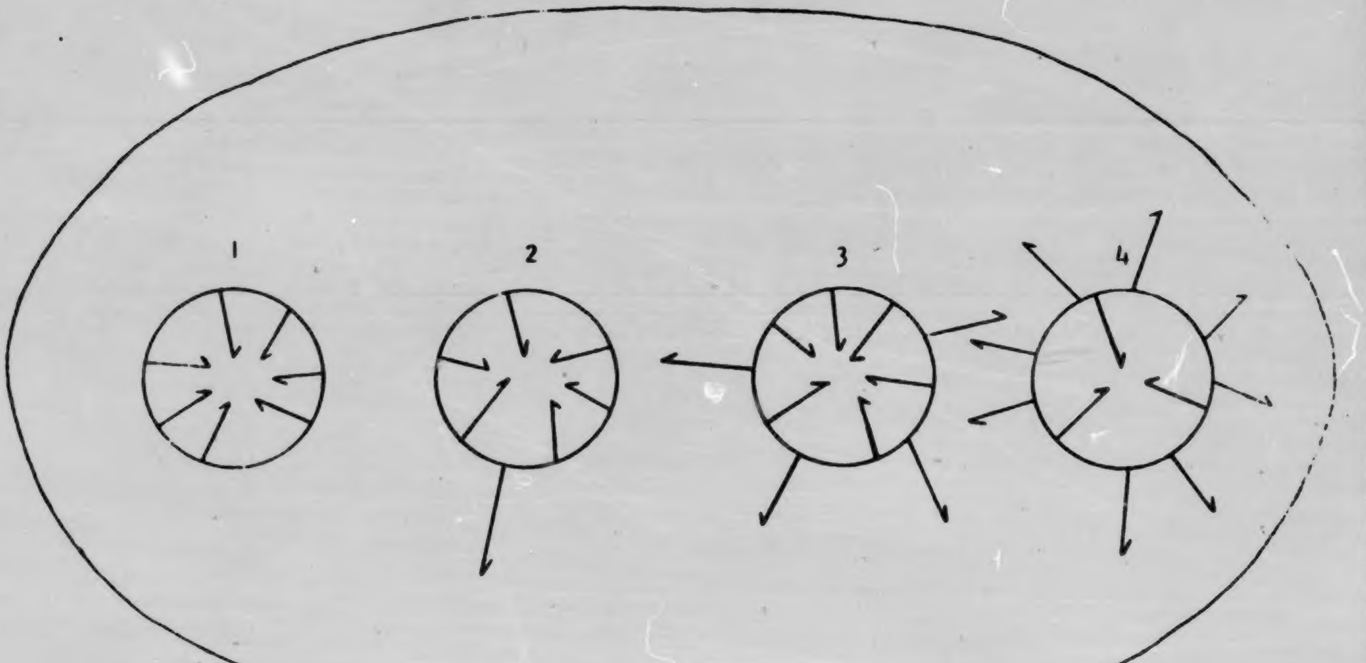

Figure 4. Local territoriality orientation

3. Both internal and external orientation--emphasis on both boundary maintenance and systemic linkage; high group maintenance functions but also community task orientation.
   --Service clubs: Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions
4. High external orientation, minimum internal orientation--boundary maintenance and group maintenance functions for identity and planning but main orientation to clienteles within the community.
   --Examples, in some cases, local Cancer, Heart or Tuberculosis Association, Council Social Agencies
5. Inferences may be drawn from local subsystems that fall in these typologies in terms of:
   a. Role and function these social systems might play in social action programs
   b. The degree to which they might cooperate (establish systemic linkages) with other systems for purposes of social action
   c. Difficulty of "entering" the social system to secure commitment of resources

E. Complexity within local subsystems (see Figure 5).

Time will allow for only a few comments about within subsystem complexity. Within a given social system there are differentiation of interests, skills, roles and functions--by individuals and small subsystems. For example:

1. There is usually a single person or a small group that "controls" the organization--social power rests with a few. In certain organizations the paid professional may be a key power figure, e.g., Secretary of YMCA, Director of Red Cross, Mental Health Coordinator, or, in formalized bureaucracies, the Chief of Police, Superintendent of schools. In voluntary associations it may be the officers, or given individual or small clique of power figures. This is shown diagrammatically by the x in the chart. (Incidentally, we have found that in formal organizations the more centralized the decision making--in an individual, executive committee or small informal power clique--the greater the potential to secure a commitment of resources and the greater the resources committed.)

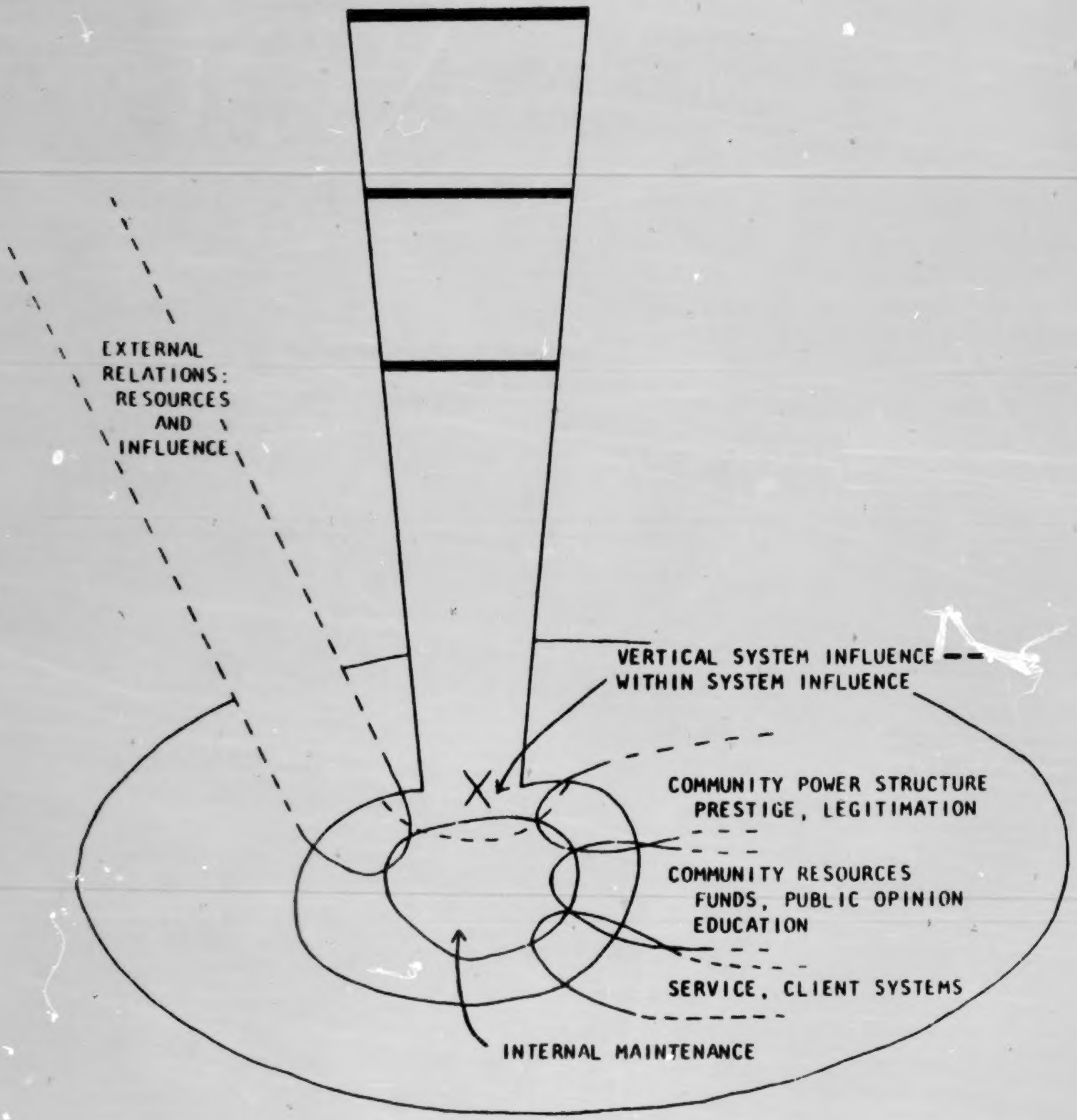
EXTERNAL RELATIONS: RESOURCES AND INFLUENCE
VERTICAL SYSTEM INFLUENCE
WITHIN SYSTEM INFLUENCE
X
COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE
PRESTIGE, LEGITIMATION
COMMUNITY RESOURCES
FUNDS, PUBLIC OPINION
EDUCATION
SERVICE, CLIENT SYSTEMS
INTERNAL MAINTENANCE

Figure 5. Complexity within subsystems

2. There may be a small group or an individual that plays the role of linking the social system to the vertical bureaucracy.
3. There is often a small group that links the group to the relevant power structure of the community--legitimizes the organization, and its programs, gives social justification for the organization, attempts to secure prestige for the organization.
4. Another group (within a local subsystem) may play the role of obtaining public support--image building, program aid, financial support, etc.--from the community, e.g., fund drives.
5. There may be another group that works mainly on providing services to selected clienteles. For example, concerned mainly with the educational and service program for the mentally retarded, those with tuberculosis, Red Cross first aid, etc.

   Examples of the importance of this differentiation:

   a. County Tuberculosis Association.

      --M.D.'s for status, legitimation and image--T.B. is health, and community identifies it as such and M.D.'s don't want lay people "fooling around" with health unless they are involved.

      --Lay leaders who fulfill their needs and get their prestige from his organization--"professional" lay leaders in health and T.B. in particular.

      --The fund raising group takes care of the planning and implementing of the Christmas Seal fund-raising campaign.

      --Those concerned with putting the money raised to good use serving relevant clienteles (these people are often hard to obtain).

   b. In our research we have found that while there is some overlap, basically there is a differentiation within groups as to those social system members.

      --Most influential within the group with other members in the group

      --Within the group most influential within the "community"

      --Within the group most influential beyond the bounds of the community.

--in the vertical organization of which the local is a part

--with other relevant target audiences: e.g., the legislature

--other organizations and agencies, government officials, statewide mass media, etc.

F. Vertical and horizontal linkages (see Figure 6).

The previous discussion has presented some concepts and frameworks that it is hoped will help better understand local territorialities and how they are linked to more complex social systems outside the local territoriality. With this as background a number of points can now be made regarding vertical and horizontal orientations that should allow for:

--an emphasis and integration of the points already made

--the introduction of some additional ideas

--an emphasis on the problems of attempting to obtain horizontal linkages, e.g., coordination

--some suggestions as to means of obtaining horizontal orientations

At a specific level the basic assumption is that if various programs are to be implemented there must be horizontal orientations and linkages established at the local territoriality system level.

1. In general, it may be said that local territoriality systems are not mainly linked to outside systems as a total unit (community is not linked as a unit) but differentiated subsystems within the community are linked vertically to their differentiated systems to outside systems:

   --local chain stores to district, state and national headquarters

   --branch plants to national offices

   --local schools to state departments of education

   --local governments to state and national governments

   --local churches to national denominational headquarters

   --local agencies to district, state and national agency headquarters: Social Welfare, Civil Defense, Cooperative Extension, Red Cross, etc.

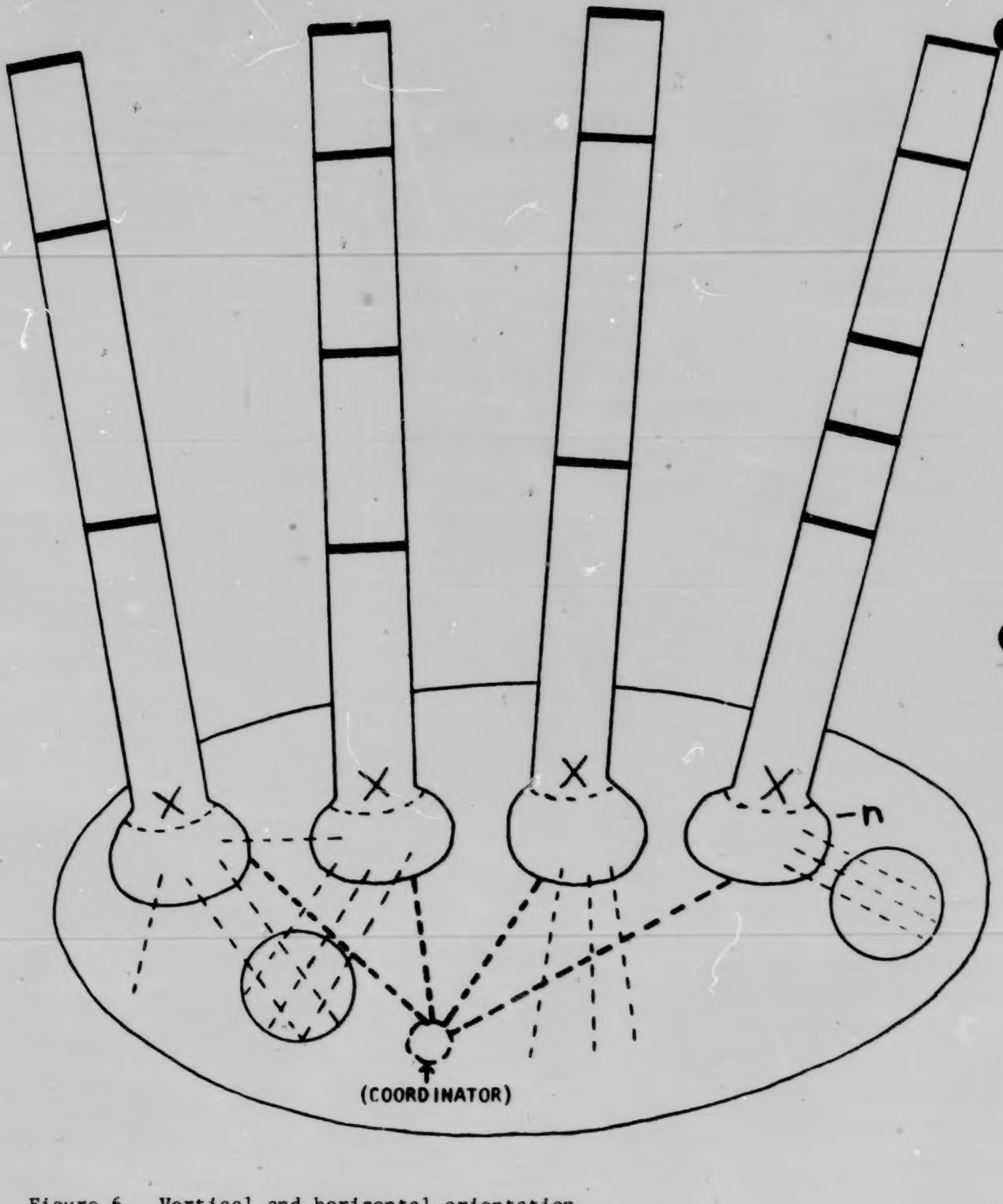
X
X
X
X
-n
(COORDINATOR)

Figure 6. Vertical and horizontal orientation

--local formal voluntary associations to state, national and international
Rotary, Federated Women's Club, League of Women Voters, Chamber of Commerce, American Legion, Elks, etc.

2. There are varying degrees of horizontal linkages and orientations in local social systems. The performing of specialized functions by the subsystems assumes that many specialized functions add up to meeting many of the diverse needs of the local "community." This may be actual or perceptual. In most cases many of the needs of the community are not met--many people are not members of formal social systems, many clienteles are not reached. There may be some attempts to reach these people through coordinating and integrating actions.

   Many problems here because of lack of horizontal orientations and lack of clarity of roles and misperception of roles. There is the problem of horizontally linking the personnel and programs of various agencies involved in smoking behavior at the community level.

3. The vertical patterns are usually highly structured by clearly defined contracts, charters, legislative laws, administrative policies and administrative procedures.

   The vertical patterns are usually bureaucratically oriented--characterized by rational planning, specified goals, prescribed means, authority patterns, norms, sanction patterns (rewards and punishments), sets of beliefs and sentiments. They are usually serviced by professional workers, program aids and materials, training programs and additional resources. In addition, the headquarters of the vertical systems may: (a) provide an excuse for locals to not get involved in local community programs they do not regard favorably, (b) charters may not let "headquarters" make concessions to local desires, (c) provide influence in high places to influence "desired" local programs, and (d) possess the underlying threat of withdrawal of support (e.g., charters, financial) if the local does not conform.

4. On the other hand, the horizontal orientation of local units may be characterized as follows: lack of structure; diverse goals; lack of rationale planning; diffuse informal roles, norms, sanctions, sentiments; lack of authority and exhibiting ad hoc structuring --loose, diffuse symbiotic relations as basis for interaction and goal accomplishment.

   There may appear to be some exceptions to this. For example, take the specialized area of government with its public services of fire protection, police protection, sanitation, certain health functions, etc. But even here the systemic linkages between these different specialized functions are often not coordinated and integrated.

   Additional attempts are made at horizontal linkages through such means as Councils of Social Agencies, Community Coordinating Councils, Community Chests.

5. In many local territorialities (e.g., community) there is no decision making unit or arena. Decisions are made on specific problems by coalitions of individuals or groups. Major decisions are often made by the general or issue area power structures.

6. All local subsystems are not vertically oriented or do not even have a vertical affiliation. However, those that tend to be the most effective and have the most prestige are vertically linked. And, these tend to be the groups a change agent would like to involve in his program.

7. It is within this social context that local coordinators must attempt to perform their roles. They must attempt to establish partial systemic linkages between and among institutions, agencies and organizations.

8. But many successful social action programs are carried on at the local territoriality level to meet specific needs or general "community" needs different from or beyond those needs falling within the objectives of a specific institution, agency, or organization. How?

G. Establishing horizontal orientations and linkages

What are the bases upon which horizontal orientations and systemic linkages get established at the local level? A number of variables appear relevant--these are taken from past research and inferences from the body of sociological knowledge.

Research has found that the following are among the reasons why institutions, agencies and formal organizations establish systemic linkages:

1. When there have been systemic linkages established at a higher vertical level between authority positions (individuals or groups) in the bureaucracy. These agreements must be made functional at the local level.
2. When it can be shown that there is convergence or complementarity of goals among local social systems.
3. When the social system believes it has a specific "unique" resource to contribute to a program.
4. When there is a need to establish, maintain or enhance a social system image--boundary maintenance, identity, status prestige.
5. Fear of not being involved with successful programs--reverse status.
6. When there is an opportunity to become identified with a higher status group.
7. When the program offers an opportunity to establish the social system in a "new" area of activity that is status giving or need fulfilling.
8. When there are reciprocal obligations to sponsoring group, agency, individuals or cooperating groups.
9. When there is a fear that a new (or another) organization will encroach on their perceived area of competence, responsibility or interest.
10. When they perceived that their goals can be reached more effectively or efficiently by coordinated activity.
11. When they are "shown" the saliancy of program goals to their own social system goals.
12. When one social system is linked structurally (cross memberships or leadership) or functionally (past systemic linkage) to other social systems.

Bridge to Discussion

Hopefully, some of the concepts presented will aid in more clearly understanding the social context within which the coordinator must perform his role. One objective of the presentation was to set a framework within which a more detailed, meaningful and personalized discussion could take place. We now have opportunity for that discussion.

WHAT IS CITIZEN PARTICIPATION?[*]

James B. Cook[**]

Citizen participation, if it is taken to mean the involvement of people in public decision making on their own volition, is an extremely complex phenomenon. Agencies concerned with the process of citizen participation in one way or another have a tendency to approach it as if it were a simple thing. In organizing for citizen participation agencies can create conditions in which activities involving volunteer participants take place, but the settings and consequences are such that often these activities bear only a superficial resemblance to citizen participation.

Many agencies and many professionals are committed to situations in which they engage with some group perceived as "citizens," but they prefer that such activities be designed and regulated by the agencies and their professional personnel, themselves. As a result, many events flying under the banner of "citizen participation" turn out to be activities carried on within very selective structures, at selected times, with selected people, selectively designated as the "citizen element." This is not an unreasonable strategy since it cuts down on complications, conflicts, confusion, and the question of control of events. It is only unreasonable if the intent is to encourage and support citizen participation, as distinguished from having nonpaid volunteers performing support functions in agencies' programs.

If agencies and their professionals design the organization, set the agenda, assign the tasks, control the timing of activities, and select the people considered to be the significant citizens, there may be things done that are useful to the agencies and their programs, but it can hardly be called citizen action. In such cases the citizens do not exercise much power over the conditions of their involvement. These conditions are created and controlled by the bureaucracy, and therefore the responsibility for the operations lies with agencies and professionals. As differentiated from other types of civic involvement, citizen participation implies that the individuals involved have the responsibility to define the roles and establish the criteria for quality performance. Without this area of responsibility, the individuals may be performing useful civic roles, but not citizen roles.

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[*] Prepared for "Intensive Training for Non-Metropolitan Development," second offering at Michigan State University, September 22-October 3, 1975, and published in the conference proceedings (available from Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Nebraska-Lincoln).

[**] James B. Cook is Instructor, Department of Regional and Community Affairs, University of Missouri-Columbia.

This distinction may not be very clear since it is the habit to think of any voluntary civic role as a citizen role. While many people believe that there is no valid reason to distinguish citizen roles from voluntary civic activity, the position taken here is that the unique contribution of citizen roles in a democracy will be poorly understood and inadequately appreciated until it becomes clear that the function of citizens is something different from the performance of prescribed tasks.

Presented here is a framework that differentiates between citizen participation and other types of valid but different kinds of civic involvement.

The critical question in such a process of differentiation is:

What is citizen participation?

Before this question can be answered, it is necessary to consider the nature of the community in which the activity takes place. What is called "citizen participation" will vary widely from community to community. In elite dominated communities what happens under the label of "citizen participation" will be markedly different from "citizen participation" in a democratic community. While it is the opinion here that citizen participation is a phenomenon unique to democratic communities, many elitists still feel that, as ordinary people have civic duties in elite controlled communities, any performance of a civic role is citizen participation. (Of course, democratic elitists contend that if the elite system institutionalizes democratic values the community may be domocratic, even though few people actually affect public policy and action. Democratic elitists, in fact, tend to drop citizen participation as a central feature of democracy.)

One of the central ideas to all the versions of elitism is that civil society is clearly divided into the rulers and the ruled, and the great body of ordinary people, whether by choice, circumstances or the dictates of nature, is firmly established as the group fit to be ruled. Ordinary people, in this view, are not likely to play much of a part in the processes of governance, and those who would seek improvement in public life and policy had best devote attention to the elites rather than the public.

For many democratic elitists, democracy seems to be little more than allowing the subjects to vote on those who are to rule them. The prime role of the people in public life, then, is considered to be that of voter. The voter role, at any rate, is thought to be about the only civic situation in which ordinary people's judgements ought to be allowed to prevail. In all other civic involvement, the action of ordinary people should be under the direction of the leadership, or an elite element. This carries with it the conception of "citizen participation" as a duty (defined by leaders) to perform specific tasks to provide support for the system or programs within it. While this kind of activity may be perfectly valid and beneficial, it is not the same thing as citizen action, even though many people call it such. It is action which is programmatic in nature; that is, it is planned and operates to produce a predetermined output. Therefore, the people involved have to act under external instruction and cannot be permitted wide latitude in determining and acting out the required roles. In other words, many of the things identified as "citizen participation" are not related to decision-making nor taking part in the direction of community action, but are merely implementation of some already decided policy or project. (For example, agencies frequently organize community groups to raise money to support the agencies' programs. The role of the community members enlisted in the effort is not to affect program policies or activities but to secure the fiscal resources so the agencies can carry out their own designs.)

Citizen participation is more complicated than that, and it takes place only in a popular democracy. In fact, it is the mark of popular democracy. While it is common to look to the number of people involved in civic activity as the indicator of the degree of democracy in a community, it is not either the number or the percentage of people involved in civic activities that counts as an indicator of democracy. It is the quality and consequences of popular involvement that is the real measure of democracy.

There can be many types of civic participation, of which citizen participation is a special kind, unique to democratic communities. There can be heavy activity involving many ordinary people in any kind of system, but gross numbers active in civic affairs provides no indication of the type of regime. If anything, extremely high levels of popular involvement suggests a dictatorship or a totalitarian system. For example, voter turnout tends to be highest in the most authoritarian systems, which often use tremendous pressures and imposed sanctions to coerce individuals into certain prescribed civic activity. The distinguishing quality of citizen participation is choice. The people in citizen roles choose those roles and when and how they are to be performed.

In a popular democracy, citizen roles are not the only type of civic roles necessary to keep the system operating. Like any other kind of community system, democracies need prescribed roles and subject roles.

Prescribed roles are those in which the system defines (through laws, regulations, professional standards, customs, or traditions) the behavior appropriate for proper role performance. It is through prescribed roles that a system assures itself that certain needed or desirable tasks or functions are carried out with reliability and with some predictability of a reasonable quality of performances. (It is fairly easy to recognize that public officials, from the President on down, are in roles that prescribe the duties, style, and content of the role and that the incumbents in official roles are circumscribed by all kinds of external standards for proper performance. However, it frequently slips the mind that roles like chairmen of committees, even though the incumbents are volunteers, are prescribed roles.)

Subject roles are a special kind of prescribed roles which define the acceptable reactions to the rules, laws, and other output of the system.

The innovation of democratic systems is in adding citizen roles which are governed by the choices of the people who chose to play them. The incumbents, in prescribed and subject roles, have to respect and abide by the role definitions and standard of performance set by the system, while the incumbents in citizen roles define and set the standards for the role they occupy. In other words, the persons playing citizen roles are not acting out sets of behaviors determined as proper by someone else but are the sole authority for what is done within the role. Of course, incumbents in all the civic roles actually affect the role behavior, but in the citizen roles their impact on the role is critical, extensive, and decisive.

Regarding citizen roles, the incumbents (or potential incumbents) decide whether the role will be performed or not. They decide which role will be performed, when it will be activitated, and how it will be acted out. In a democracy people have a tremendous range of choices about how, when, and about what they will use themselves in citizen roles which affect the processes and directions of the civic community.

Since people have this kind of choice, there is not one single model of the citizen role but many varied citizen roles. Further, it means that in a democracy there will be several levels of participation among the people who make up the community. Thus, in a democracy there should be no expectation of a uniform level of participation. Participation will vary from individual to individual.

If such choice about citizen roles is to be exercised, the community has to create and allow the condition in which citizen responsibility is defined by the individual rather than by some external agency, be it government itself or some other institution or organization. Democratic citizen roles are determined, learned, adjusted, and changed by the incumbents and, if this is to be the pattern, the incumbents must be free to decide on their own responsibility. As soon as some external agency claims the right to say what "a responsible citizen" is to do, then that agency assumes the right to dictate to people the content, range, and style of civic behavior that is acceptable. If government or some elite determines, assigns, or supervises citizen roles, these roles lose their character as roles directed by individual choices and become prescribed roles in which the individuals are restricted to role performance outlined by someone else.

Democracy is not totalitarian--that is, the democratic community does not seek to exert control over all aspects of society or individual life. Democracy not only values individual autonomy, it depends on the capacities of members of the community to do their own thinking and to direct themselves in their civic involvement beyond the requirements as subjects or in particular offices, positions and, jobs which they may occupy.

Since there is a personal life beyond civic involvement permitted in a democracy, people do not have to be totally involved or have their whole being absorbed in the politics and action of the state or the community. They may reserve a great deal of themselves for themselves. It is their choice as to how far to go in civic participation beyond what is demanded as law-abiding subjects. "Citizen," then, does not represent a whole and complete person so much as a role. It is a role self-determined by the person playing it and not dictated by government. Only by allowing people to make their own choices of what they are to do as citizens can democracy respect the competence and responsibility of people to control their own part in influencing the public decision making processes. If people cannot be trusted to regulate their own involvement, then it would be absurd to believe they can be trusted with a part in governance.

Unlike subject roles and prescribed roles, which by their nature are relatively stable and subject to relatively slow or incremental change, citizen roles are extremely variable. It takes only a decision by an incumbent in a citizen role to do something else and change the role. With changes in situations, events, and perceptions of conditions, individuals can very rapidly change the behavior in their civic involvement. Thus, the complement of citizen roles, along with their intensity, direction, and patterns, can fluctuate very rapidly in a democratic system.

From observation of other types of systems, it is apparent that systems change, adjust, and respond differently with the fluctuations of the variables. The stable parts of the system may continue to operate in their established mode, but when the variables around them change configurations, the consequences of the stable elements' performance are altered.

What this suggests in reference to a democratic system is that the performance of the system is affected substantially by the fluctuation in its most variable elements--the citizen roles. Popular control is not exercised, as often suggested, by the convergence of people's opinions around a particular policy choice, but by the variations in the activity and pattern of citizen roles.

Citizen participation, then, is the means of regulating a democratic system. If people see no cause to be active in citizen roles, the system may operate stripped down to the bare bones of prescribed and subject roles. When for some reason people begin to assume citizen roles, the system is elaborated and the patterns of decision making are changed. In fact, the citizen roles that people select, devise, and play influence the size, energies, capacities, processes, and configurations of the operating democratic system. These roles then become more important in the control processes than the stable performance of even the most important prescribed roles, i.e., the President of the United States.

Only when a picture of the complexity and variability of a democratic system is understood can there be much understanding of the processes by which this kind of intricate structure is regulated and directed. The idea that the behavior of a democratic system can be described, explained and predicted on the basis of observation of the major institutionalized and prescribed roles is based on the notion that a democratic system is constituted very much like other types of regimes. The existence and operation of its unique element--autonomous citizen roles--however, makes the mechanism of democracy fundamentally different from all other versions of political control. Close attention to the behavior of citizen roles is required to understand democracy. As long as scientists, philosophers, and political analysts see only prescribed roles as significant, they will never be albe to comprehend the dynamics of democratic control.

If citizen participation is to perform its unique control function in a democratic system, the politicians and professionals in agencies are going to have to tolerate people choosing their own citizen roles. There will be no democratic citizen participation if leaders, elites, and the corps of public professionals insist that people be involved only in the way and at the time the government or bureaucratic structures dictate.

RESOURCE PAPER
UNIT IV

DECISION MAKING FOR DEVELOPMENT[*]

Paul H. Gessaman[**]

Introduction

Decision making, the act or process of making a decision, has been described by Schaller as exchanging one or more known problems for a set of as yet unknown problems that will develop as a result of the decision [7]. Warren's discussion of "The Great Change" seemed to be in substantial agreement with Schaller. And, sober consideration of personal experiences in life tend to indicate that there is never any one decision that settles a matter for all time--thus, there is never an end to the need for decisions.

If this is so, if decisions only result in more problems, why do we focus so much of our attention on decision making? Possibly because our choices are to place emphasis and attention on decision making and work to improve it wherever possible, or to "just let things happen." Just letting things happen is a way of dealing with problems, but it's not generally viewed as the best way.

Decision making in the community can be thought of as the ongoing processes through which the community's resources are managed. When we talk about improving decision making, we are talking about improving the management of community resources. And, who could be against that? Just try to stimulate some changes (improvements) in decision-making processes and you'll find out. Every existing decision-making process is a functioning system and has its group of vested interests. Monkey with the system and you threaten someone, and a predictable reaction will result. So consider yourself forewarned that the way of the "decision improver" is not always smooth.

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[*] Paper presented at the North Central program of Intensive Training for Non-Metropolitan Development, Lincoln, Nebraska, and East Lansing, Michigan, April and September, 1975 and published in the conference proceedings (available from Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Nebraska-Lincoln).

[**] Extension Economist and Associate Professor of Agricultural Economics, University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

There are many possible approaches to the examination of decision making. In this discussion, I'll make brief reference to three models of decision making. Then I'll develop somewhat more completely three related approaches to thinking about decision making. None of these provides the answer, but I hope to stir your thinking about several aspects of community decision making.

Models of Community Decision Making

Power actor or power structure model

In this model of community decision making, emphasis is placed on the ways in which power actors and the power structure of a community participate in decision making. I won't go into much detail except to stress that the model implies a small number of powerful individuals dominate community decision making. However, decision making by power actors usually does not imply that all decisions are made by a few people. It's the rare community where a few persons have complete control over decision making. It is much more typical for each type of decision to have its group of power actors. Membership of these groups overlaps so some individuals have power in several types of decisions, but it is very seldom that a few people have control over all types of decisions.

Turnover in the power structure is relatively slow, but it does occur. In communities with the usual openness to outside social and economic penetration and at least some personal population mobility, the power actors function over time in somewhat the same manner as do elected representatives. In the long run, their ability to maintain power actor status and roles is dependent upon their being granted that right by the persons resident to the community. While the process of change is much slower than is true of elected representatives, where residents may decide to "throw the rascals out," power actors do lose their positions when their general support is withdrawn. New power actors emerge as they become identified with, and supported by, social or economic groups or constituencies.

Differential participation model

This model is similar to the power actor model but focuses on the decisions of individuals as they choose to participate or not to participate in community decision making. Hahn has very nicely drawn together information about differential participation in a leaflet entitled, "Who Decides? Participants in Community Decision Making" [5].

Hahn points out that nearly one-half of the adult population has no effective participation in community decision making--they don't even vote. Of those who vote, about one-half do only that. The remaining one-quarter plus of the total population has involvement in addition to voting, but less than 5 percent of the total population (and possibly less than 1 percent) has continuing active participation.

Studies cited by Hahn indicate that those who do participate are predominately executives and professional people with relatively high levels of education. I suspect this may be a result of their belief that by participation they can make a difference and have an impact on decision making. Large amounts of time and effort have been spent by agency workers such as ourselves in a variety of activities intended to increase participation in decision making.

The process model

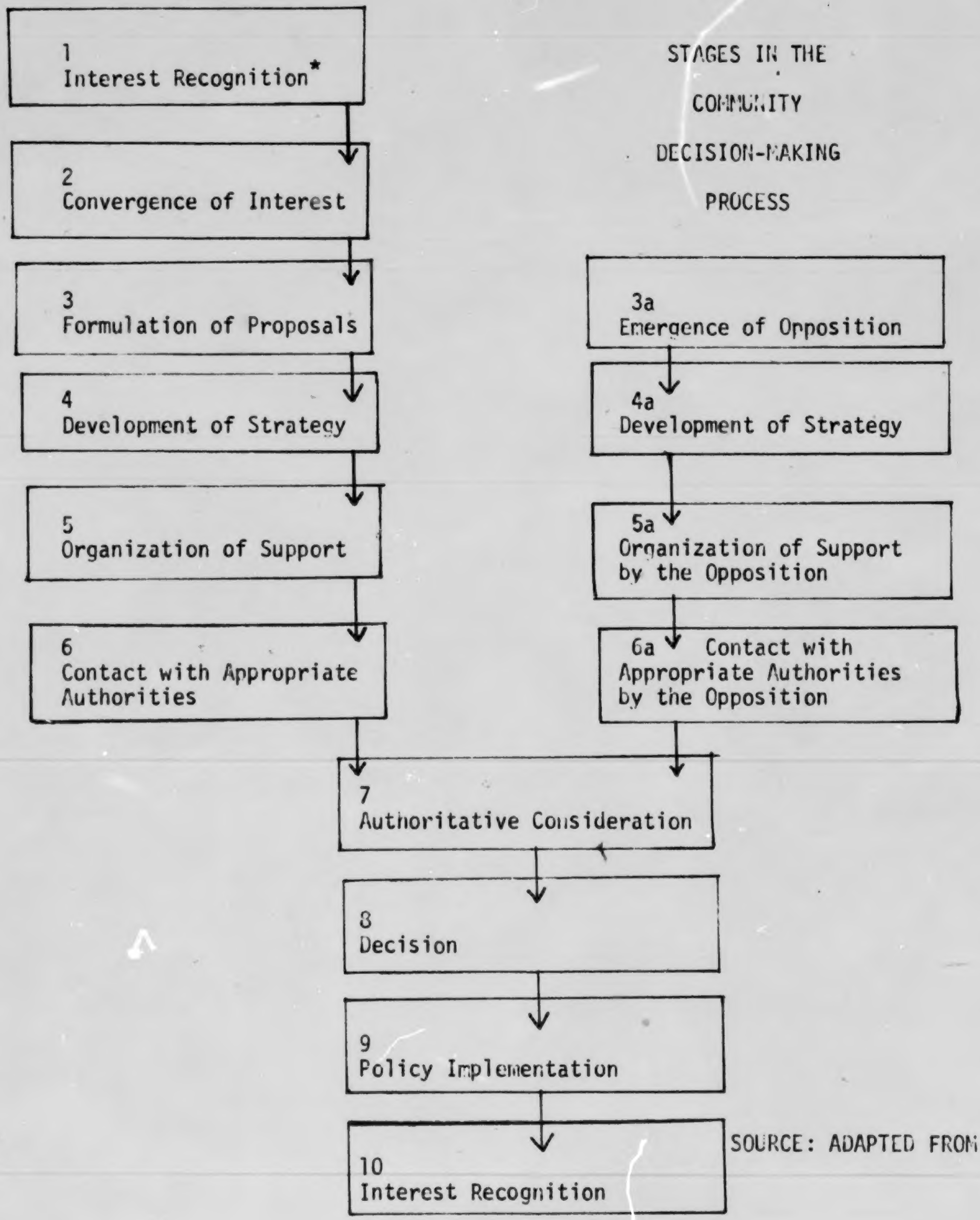
In the process model, decision making is looked upon as being episodic in nature. That is, it occurs as the result of working through a sequence of steps that start with recognition of interest in some issue, concern or problem; and ends with the implementation of a decision that in turn causes interest recognition by the same or another group of persons. This is an exact parallel to Schaller's idea that making a decision is the act of exchanging one or more known problems for a set of unknown problems that will result from the decision. In the typical community many decision processes go on simultaneously, and they are usually inter-linked in a variety of ways including participation by some of the same power actors.

Figure 1 illustrates a decision making process that presumes the decision involves government authorities. This decision-making process starts from the way in which "what is" differs from "what should be." As the process is carried out, it is presumed that opposition develops and provides its inputs to the actual decision making.

Some ideas that seem important to me about this process formulation are these:

1. Many issues that start the process in motion originate outside the community. They are introduced to the community by "initiators" that may be from outside the community and often are agency employees. When this happens, the initiators may also have predetermined outcomes. When this is true, the "hidden agenda" transforms the decision-making process into a process by which the initiators seek to get legitimation for the outcome they desire. The results of this type of decision making usually include apathy, disregard of apparently legitimate needs, and sometimes, conflict.
2. Participants in decision making tend to be specialized and participate only in decision making on issues in which they have an interest (this is another way of saying that each type of decision has its own group of power actors and participants). Thus, there is no one clientele you can work with if you want to facilitate decision making on a wide range of community issues. A limited number of persons may be generalists and be involved in many types of decisions. If these persons can be identified, they can be a means of access to the decision making processes. They may, of course, be power actors.
3. There are great differences in the ease with which individuals and groups participate in or move through the decision making process. Persons who have frequent participation in this process usually can work through it with greater ease and speed than is true of the inexperienced. This seems to provide some basis for belief in the idea that groups or communities can be taught to improve their decision making--though the usefulness of the decisions made will probably continue to depend upon the extent and quality of participation.

With these models of community decision making as background, let's now shift to more detailed consideration of three approaches to decision making.


STAGES IN THE
COMMUNITY
DECISION-MAKING
PROCESS
1
Interest Recognition*
2
Convergence of Interest
3
Formulation of Proposals
4
Development of Strategy
5
Organization of Support
6
Contact with Appropriate Authorities
3a
Emergence of Opposition
4a
Development of Strategy
5a
Organization of Support by the Opposition
6a
Contact with Appropriate Authorities by the Opposition
7
Authoritative Consideration
8
Decision
9
Policy Implementation
10
Interest Recognition

SOURCE: ADAPTED FROM (4)

FIGURE 1. THE COMMUNITY DECISION MAKING PROCESS

* INTEREST RECOGNITION IS BASED ON PERCEPTION OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN "WHAT IS" AND "WHAT SHOULD BE"

Approaches to Decision Making

The holistic approach

To many persons, community development is the implementation of a holistic decision-making process. Extension has been especially noted for its focus on a process approach to community development that, when closely examined, turns out to be the holistic approach. Several interrelated ideas are central to the holistic approach:

1. Decision making starts with community-defined problems.
2. Emphasis is placed on the interrelatedness of problems--I like to think of this as the "spider web" approach because in the same way as pressure on any part of a spider web causes change all over the web, a community problem is viewed as being linked to all other parts of the community and any change or solution is thought to cause change throughout the community.
3. The linkages are the social and the economic relationships making up the community, and they simultaneously tie together both the community and the problems.
4. The primary objective of providing assistance is the enhancement of the decision-making ability of the community.

Under these circumstances, no problem can be viewed as a single issue as it has both direct and indirect linkages to the rest of the community. For example, the desire to use tax revenue to build a new city auditorium can only be evaluated in light of the other uses for tax revenue, the types of law enforcement, maintenance, traffic direction, and other demands that will be placed on the city if the auditorium is built, and the projects which must be foregone in order that the auditorium can be built. And, the learning process the community goes through as it examines these trade-offs and makes choices is viewed as the most important aspect of a holistic approach to decision making on the auditorium.

This approach seems to imply:

1. There can be a wide range of "development problems" with interrelationships between problems depending upon the circumstances, needs, desires and interests of the community.
2. No problem should be worked on in isolation from other problems, interests, and community concerns.
3. Decision making skills are transferable, and capability developed in making decisions on one problem can be transferred to and applied to other problems.

4. It is necessary to involve decision makers who have strong horizontal linkages and interactions reaching across special interest groups, power groups, and groups of participants. In brief, decision makers must have perspective on the whole community.

This is a formidable set of implications and almost immediately causes one to ask, "Does it actually work?" I think the answer is a qualified "yes." But, I'd also like to suggest a few of the problems that can result from an overly enthusiastic dedication to the holistic approach:

1. There is a tendency to make problem solving and decision making so complex that it appears impossible to arrive at a useful decision.
2. It appears to be of utmost importance that priorities be set and followed if community resources are to be used effectively. But, if there are several differing perceptions of "what should be," it may be impossible to arrive at agreement on priorities with a resulting stalemate.
3. A high degree of participation is necessary to sustain a holistic approach, and this participation is usually very difficult to maintain.
4. Warren's comments on community competence seem to indicate that trying to develop the overall decision-making capability of a community is, at best, a somewhat futile activity.
5. If, despite these potential problems, one elects to strive for really holistic decision making, it is very easy to expend all available energy and effort in trying to get the whole system functioning and never get anything done. It gets to be somewhat like hunting in the forest for the "perfect" Christmas tree. The inability to achieve perfection may result in your coming home empty handed.

At this point you may be asking yourselves, "Why go through all this discussion if it doesn't work?" My reasons are two-fold: First, the holistic approach has often been presented as the model we should follow (which implies anything less than complete holistic decision making is somehow a partial failure); and second, in combination with ideas about the decision making process, it helps to "set the stage" for a somewhat different approach to the examination of decision making. In this we will look at two rather simple-minded conceptualizations of factors that appear to have important bearing on community decision making and then discuss possible implications for our work.

Costs of decision approach

Some years back, Buchanan and Tullock put together a book entitled, The Calculus of Consent in which they attempted to provide a logical basis for the study of decision making in a democracy [2]. Their ideas have been picked up and developed further by numerous political scientists and economists and a theory of public administration called Public Choice has emerged [6]. For the present, I'm mostly concerned with an adaptation of a couple of their ideas, so we'll go no further at present in talking about Public Choice.

Two important ideas that emerge from Buchanan and Tullock's work are:

1. Decision making is not free. There is one cost associated with participation in decision making, and an identifiably different cost that is borne by everyone who is affected by the decision and for whom the decision is not perfectly appropriate.
2. Individuals are rational and seek to minimize their total cost of decision making (cost of making decisions and cost of inappropriate decisions).

The application of these ideas to community decision making can be demonstrated verbally and diagramatically. Assuming that all persons involved in the decision are not in constant face-to-face contact, logic indicates that the costs[1] of decision making will increase as participation in decision making increases (i.e., as the proportion of the directly affected persons participating in the decision increases, the individual and total cost of decision making increases).

This occurs because each individual's costs of participation increase as the number of participants increases due to the greater number of interactions necessary for decision making. The total of these individual costs (the community decision making cost) would then also increase, but at a faster rate than the individual's cost, as the extent of participation is increased. That is, there are an increasing number of persons each of whom has costs that are increasing at an increasing rate as the proportion of affected persons who are participating in decision making goes from 0.0

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[1] Costs include time, effort, and actual monetary expenses of participation in decision making.

toward 1.0 (Figure 2). This effect tends to "snowball" as the proportion approaches 1.0.

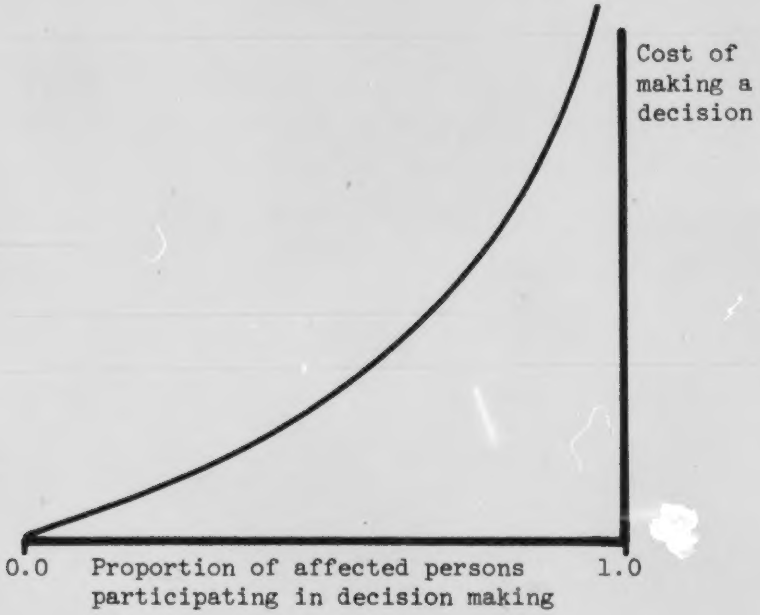

Figure 2. Community costs of making a decision (hypothetical).

If all persons' preferences were identical, the cost of decision making could be minimized by having one person make all the decisions. This would minimize all decision costs because the decision maker's costs would be minimal and (presumably) the decisions would be appropriate for everyone, so there would be no costs of inappropriate decisions.

But, reality forces us to look at the situation where preferences are not identical. Under these circumstances no decision can be perfectly appropriate for everyone, resulting in the community incurring costs associated with inappropriate decisions. In a manner analogous to the discussion of decision costs, it seems logical to argue that the costs of an inappropriate decision are related to the extent of participation in decision making. When the proportion of participation by affected persons is very small, we can expect the resulting decision to be inappropriate for a large number of persons and we would expect the resulting community costs to be relatively large (Figure 3). This cost would be expected to decrease as the proportion of participants increased but would go to zero only if consensus of all affected persons could be reached (dotted line of Figure 3). The more realistic estimate appears to be the situation where participation reduces the total cost of an inappropriate decision, but no decision can ever be perfectly appropriate due to variety in preferences. Thus, the costs of an inappropriate decision are always present even when all affected persons participate (solid line of Figure 3).

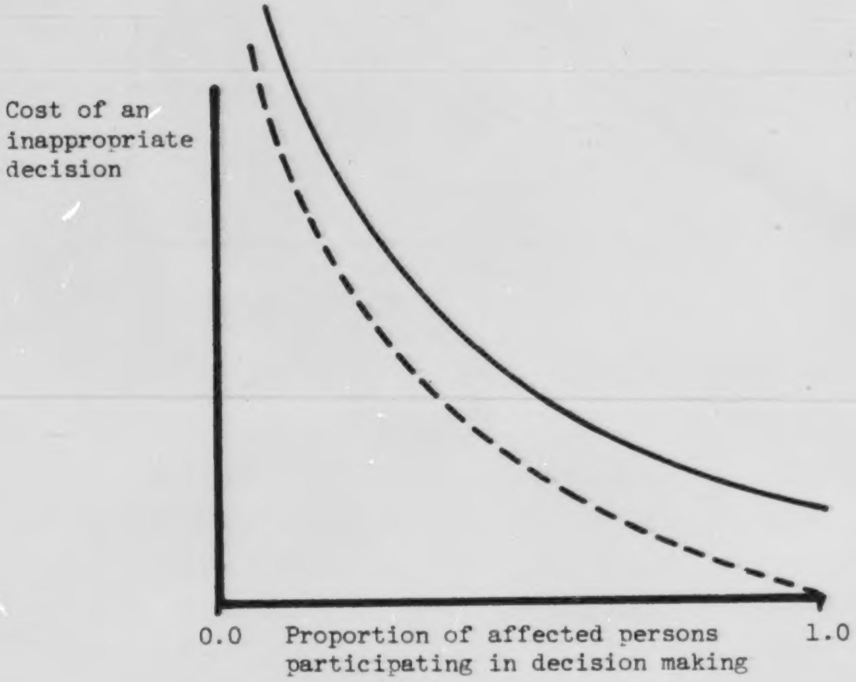

Figure 3. Community costs of an inappropriate decision (hypothetical).

If we assume the situation that seems to be reasonably typical of most communities where persons affected by a community decision have nonidentical, but not completely different preferences, we find that the summing of these cost curves gives us a total cost curve that is U-shaped (Figure 4).

It indicates decision making costs will be very high whenever decision making power is concentrated in the hands of one or a few people and whenever total participation is attempted.

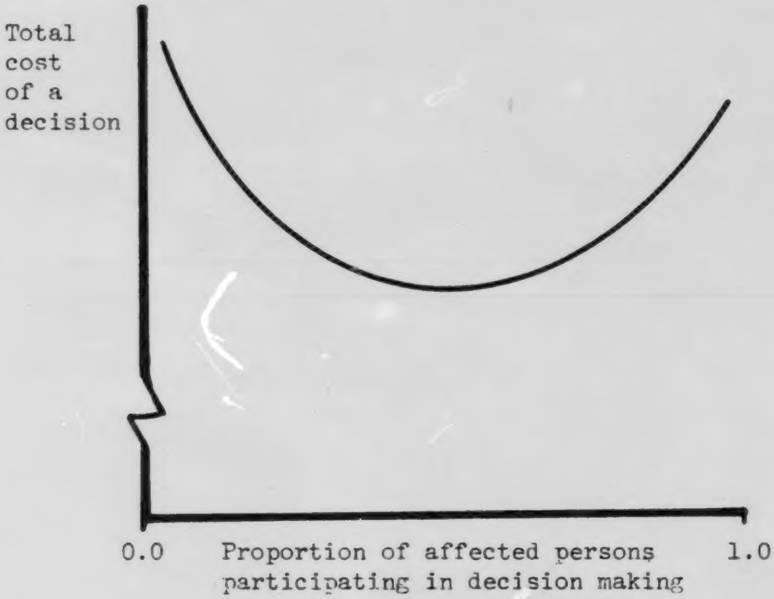

Figure 4. Total community costs of a decision (hypothetical).

This formulation makes sense to me--especially so when we start thinking about communities with large populations, communities encompassing large geographic areas, or communities where there are large differences in values. It also makes sense to me when we start thinking about why people don't participate in decision making. The cost of participating in a decision is high if you have to take off time from work, travel long distances, or invest large amounts of time in order to participate. If the perceived costs of an inappropriate decision (or no decision) are viewed as relatively small or payable in the far distant future, it makes sense not to participate. Or, if the situation appears to be one where participation will be ineffectual in altering the decision from that which would be made without participation, why incur the decision making cost? If you participate you lose twice, but if you sit on the sidelines you only pay once and that may come due at some time in the far off future.

At this point I should say that I'm really not a complete pessimist. But, I do think it is important to consider some distinctly noncheerful conclusions that can be drawn from this approach to thinking about decision-making:

1. All persons are not alike, so the costs of having one decision maker are probably unacceptably high even though that person might be the world's best benevolent despot.
2. If all persons participated in every group decision, the costs of decision making would probably be unacceptably high.
3. The observed behavior of about 50+ percent participation in voting and 5 percent or less direct involvement in decision making may reflect a reasonably realistic assessment of direct costs to participants. Thus, it is rational that wide participation occurs only in times of crisis when the perceived costs of the "wrong" decision are high.
4. Even if the long range costs of an inappropriate decision are high, it is unlikely that people will have strong interest in participating because those long-range costs are usually viewed as being far in the future and are highly discounted. In 1975, who worries about $50.00 that is to be paid in 1990?

I'm sure you feel that I've made the situation look rather discouraging, especially for those who would like to see substantial representative participation in all community decision making. That's really not my intent. The decision costs described here seem to me to be real--they exist in some form although they may not be measurable. And, they seem to be a powerful argument in favor of priority setting as an integral part of work with community decision making. My view is that top priority should be given to working on improving decision making on issues with potential for high impact on the long-run welfare of the community. If you scatter your energy and efforts among lots of little problems, you'll never have time and energy to concentrate on the major issues. And, residents will dissipate all their willingness to incur decision costs without having come to grips with the major issues faced by their community.

Individual centered approach

This approach to thinking about decision making starts from some basic assumptions about the individual and society. It is assumed that the primary function of our social, political, and economic systems is the generation of individual statisfaction with the totality of life. Following the public choice model, the individual is assumed to be rationally self-interested (but not necessarily selfish) as the person participates in decisions having impact on personal well-being [6]. This rational and self-interested individual is viewed as a participant in both individual and group decision making on a wide variety of matters.

In a manner reasonably consistent with that of Bernard [1], social problems (including problems of development) are viewed as problems of decision. These problems of decision may be separated into at least two categories:

1. Problems of decision resulting from "informational inadequacies" such as lack of knowledge of alternatives or selection of inappropriate or imperfect criteria upon which to base decisions.
2. Problems of decision resulting from institutional inadequacies such that the individual is confronted with situations in which the only feasible outcome is the conclusion that "you can't get there from here."

It is important to recognize that values are inherent to every approach to a social problem. Perceptions of problems depend upon the values and motivations of decision makers. The same may be said of perceptions of feasible alternatives for solutions to these problems. Participation in decision making is the mechanism through which the values of individuals are recognized and reflected in group decisions. When individuals fail to participate in group decision making, they ensure that their values will not be reflected in the group decisions.

As the individual participates in day-to-day life in a community, that person has a part in:

1. Individual (family unit) decisions on location of employment and the type and extent of productive activities--thus helping determine the mix and quantity of products or services produced in the community.

2. Individual (family unit or firm) decisions on location of residence, type and extent of consumption, savings and investment--thus determining the mix and quantity of products or services demanded.
3. Group decisions, including governmental decisions, such as decisions on taxation and regulation, availability of public sector goods and services, etc.

These types of decision making are closely interrelated and it is unrealistic to consider one or two in isolation from the other(s). However, for simplicity we will start our examination of the implications by considering the production-consumption portion of the overall system.

In a manner analogous to that used by Rose and me in a previous paper [3], the diagramatic representation shows the individual consuming a flow of goods and services from nongovernmental groups and organizations, from the public sector and from the private sector (Figure 5). The individual depicted in the diagram is considered to be one of a group or set consisting of all persons residing in a community. A little later we will look at the linkages between individuals; for the present, we'll concentrate on one individual.

Arrow "A" represents the flow of private sector goods and services to the public sector for direct use as inputs to public sector production, and for the provision to consumers of private sector goods through contracts or other public sector actions (e.g., fire protection, law enforcement, school bus operation, waste disposal). Arrow "B" represents the flow of public sector goods and services to the private sector for use in the production of private sector goods and services. This flow represents supportive goods and services which facilitate private sector production and lower costs (e.g., public education, water and sewer service, fire protection), and regulatory activities of various kinds that set standards for private sector activities.

Consumption of goods and services by the individual consumer is represented by arrow "C". The mix of goods and services from nongovernmental groups or organizations, the public sector, and the private sector is such that the individual consumer probably cannot differentiate the exact source of each component of the total consumption flow. If, as is depicted, the

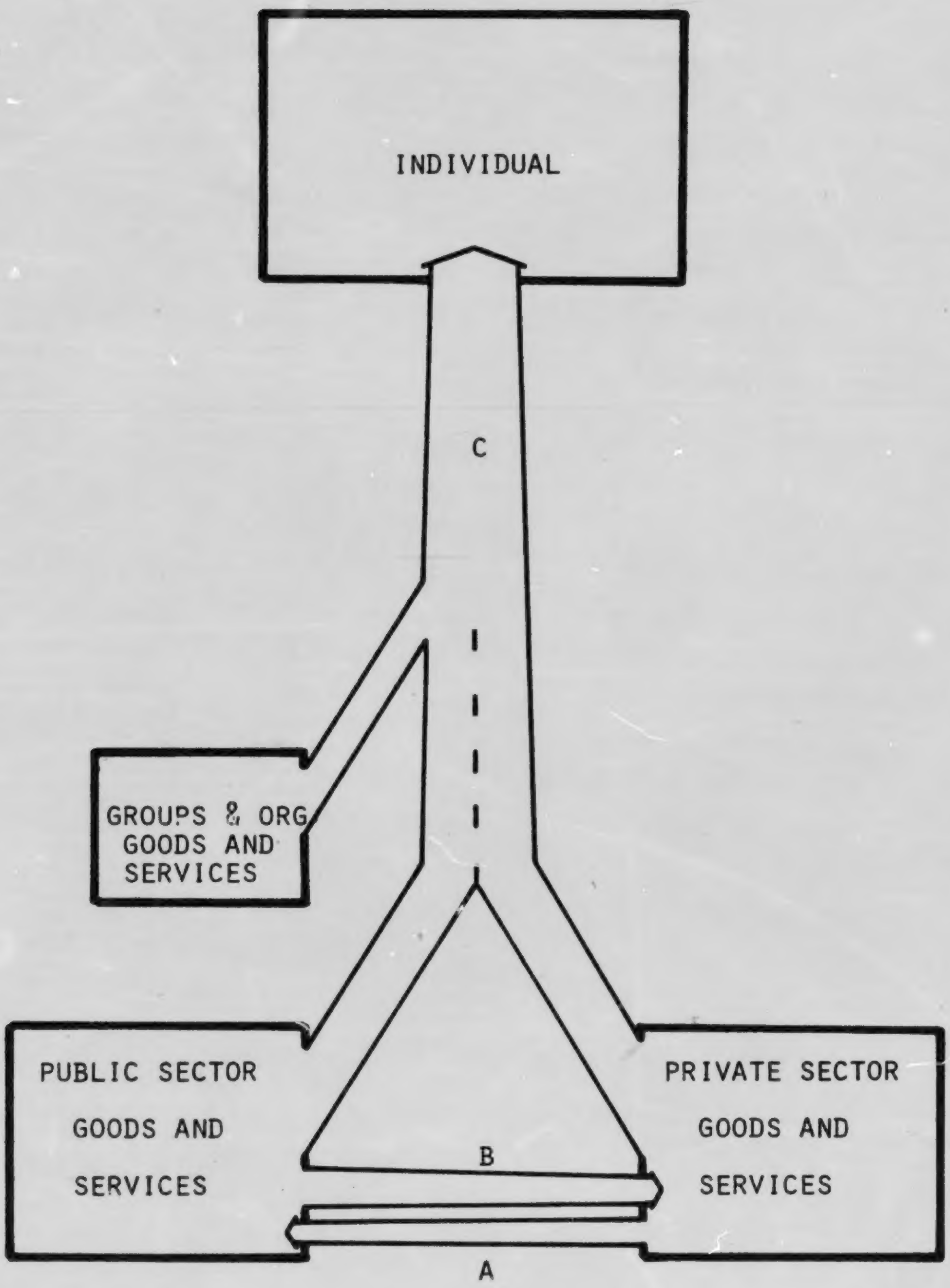
INDIVIDUAL
C
GROUPS & ORG
GOODS AND
SERVICES
PUBLIC SECTOR
GOODS AND
SERVICES
PRIVATE SECTOR
GOODS AND
SERVICES
B
A

FIGURE 5

flow at "B" exceeds the flow at "A", the individual's perception of public sector productivity will be unrealistically low and his perception of private sector productivity will be unrealistically high. Insofar as such perceptions of productivity have impact upon the willingness of consumers to support public sector activities, this situation contributes to inadequate financial support of governmental activities.[2]

The individual's participation in decision making can be illustrated by adding to Figure 5. In Figure 6 arrows and lines indicate the direction and flow of participation and decisions. The partial division of the rectangle representing the individual depicts the three major functions carried on by the individual with the interrelatedness of these functions indicated by the incompleteness of the separation. Interactions between individual and group decisions are represented by the two-way flow at "D".

It may be useful to look briefly at the interrelatedness of the individual and group decisions. The rational and self-interested decisions of individuals when aggregated may produce a need for group decisions. When a group decision is arrived at, usually the arena for individual decisions is changed, and a new series of individual decisions will be undertaken as individuals seek to respond rationally to the new conditions. These responses may, in turn, create the need for additional group decisions, and so forth on and on.

For example, as a suburbanite fighting inflation, I may elect to try to lower food costs by raising rabbits in my back yard. If, after smelling the delicious odors of roasting rabbit wafting from my barbeque, all of my neighbors elect also to raise rabbits, we may soon have a health problem in addition to a rabbit population explosion. In the normal course of events, it will take some sort of group decision (I deliberately ignore the possibility of a calamity) to bring the rabbit population under control

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[2] An alternative rationale for underexpenditure in the public sector of an advanced economy runs as follows: Taxpayers stop expenditures for public goods when personal marginal cost equals personal marginal return. In so doing they fail to recognize that marginal social return to a public good supplied at that level is greater than the summation of personal marginal cost because there are more persons with access to the good than there are taxpayers who pay for it.

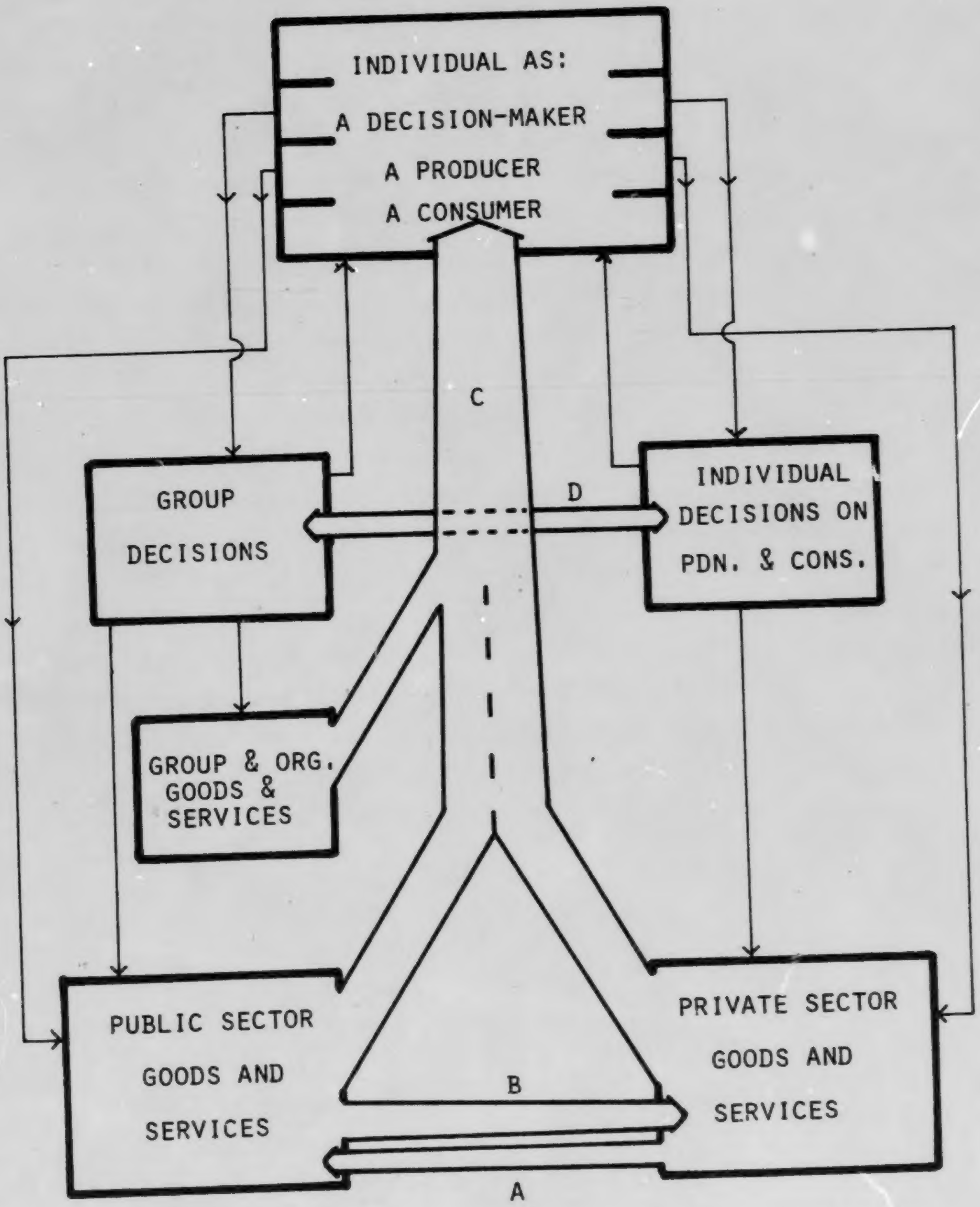
INDIVIDUAL AS:
A DECISION-MAKER
A PRODUCER
A CONSUMER
C
GROUP DECISIONS
D
INDIVIDUAL DECISIONS ON PDN. & CONS.
GROUP & ORG. GOODS & SERVICES
PUBLIC SECTOR GOODS AND SERVICES
B
PRIVATE SECTOR GOODS AND SERVICES
A

FIGURE 6

and reduce the health hazards. And, at this point with rabbit-raising restricted, I may decide to raise chickens, and around we go again.

If values and preferences were reasonably uniform as is often thought to be true of a rural community, it would be logical to expect near unanimity of opinion in support of certain choices or group decisions. Experience seems to indicate, however, that uniformity of values and preferences is not the usual case. This implies that each group decision can be arrived at only by negotiation and compromise between rational and self-interested individuals, and assures that linkages must be maintained between individuals for purposes of information exchange and input to decision making. Furthermore, if the community is subject to many constraints such as shortages of funds, limited leadership, quality or quantity guidelines set outside the community, or strong vested interests, it may be that none of the alternatives that are socially acceptable are also feasible in light of the constraints. Apathy, denial of need, resistance to change and hostility to those who advocate "improvement" of decision making may result. Rugged individualism may result from deeply held philosophical beliefs, and it also may result from situations where people cannot see any feasibility in undertaking the relatively large amount of interactions necessary for group decision making. Individual decisions are easily made, group decision making can be difficult to initiate and maintain. And, if the perceived flow of benefits is small relative to the difficulty of group decision making, incentives are lacking and decision needs are deferred or ignored.

Conclusions

This discussion has covered a wide range of aspects of community decision making. Some of the inferences that can be drawn are pessimistic in nature. Unfortunately, this seems to be the nature of community decision making--there are no easy answers to securing participation and stimulating improved group decision making.

At the same time I think we can draw some useful inferences from the ideas discussed here. Remember that every individual is engaged in decision making as an individual in addition to his (her) participation in group decision making. And, rational individual decisions when aggregated may be detrimental to the community. The usual response is a group decision to restrict individual decisions. Efforts that make evident the dimensions of this situation and present realistic measures of the contribution of the public sector may enable people to understand the need for and realistically participate in group decision making.

I believe there is validity in the holistic concept of linkages and interactions within the community that result in the "spider web" effect. You need to look for and deal with second round effects and, if possible, head off those that are foreseeable and undesirable. But, sober consideration of the costs of decision making convince me that you can be most effective by restricting the size of your arena so as to ensure the decision making costs are reasonable in light of the type of problem you are dealing with.

In the long run the facilitating of decisions that reduce the barriers to and costs of future decision making may be the most effective community development efforts you can make. The potential pay-off from structural changes that open up the community's decision making should be high.

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UNDERSTANDING COMMUNITY[*]

William J. Kimball[**]

In any kind of planning and development work, wherever or whenever it is undertaken, the concept "community" is highly significant. Community is important in our efforts whether the focus is non-metropolitan development, rural development, urban development, or regional development. It is all community development. In these efforts, whether we are professionals or laymen, we all use the term "community;" yet there is frequently a great deal of difference in what we mean.

Because the concept community is so important and there is so much confusion about it, it is important to build an understanding of community early.

In developing this understanding of community, let's begin first by identifying some of the terms that frequently are used to describe what we mean by community. If you are like many other workers whose roles have been expanded to include development work, though that wasn't your basic training, your list will read something like this: "people," "area," "territory," "common concern," "mutual," "exchange," "similar cause," "interdependence," "joint purpose," and many more.

An increasing number of community development workers and scientists from a great many other fields have been concentrating on the subject of community. An examination of some of their definitions will be useful as an opener.

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[*] Presented at the Intensive Training for Non-Metropolitan Development, Lincoln, Nebraska and East Lansing, Michigan, April and September, 1975, and published in the conference proceedings (available from Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Nebraska-Lincoln).

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Let's begin with a simple straightforward definition of community, which is provided by Lee Cary of the University of Missouri in his recent book, Community Development as a Process:

> Community, as the term is used here, refers to people who live in some spatial relationship to one another and who share interests and values [1].

Sanders, one of the most widely accepted authors on this subject, defines community in sociological terms:

> A community is a territorially organized system co-extensive with a settlement pattern in which, (1) an effective communications network operates, (2) people share common facilities and services distributed within this settlement pattern and, (3) people develop a psychological identification with the "locality symbol" [4].

Robert Park, an early human ecologist at the University of Chicago, defined community:

> The essential characteristics of a community so conceived are those of: 1) a population territorially organized, 2) more or less completely rooted in the soil it occupies, 3) its individual units living in a relationship of mutual interdependence that is symbiotic rather than societal in the sense that the term applies to human beings [3].

Loomis and Beegle, two of my colleagues at Michigan State University, prefer a less complex definition:

> The community may be defined as a social system encompassing a territorial unit within which members carry on most of their day-to-day activities necessary in meeting common needs [2].

The scientific definitions have been intended to give you an idea of how extensively the subject matter has been treated by the researchers across this country. For many, it would be interesting to see how others in this country, as well as those in other cultures, have dealt with the concept of community. For this brief treatment, time will not permit.

Even though we have only drawn from four scientific definitions, I'm convinced we can identify some key characteristics of a community. I've examined each of the definitions, and explored my own convictions a bit further and have come up with:

KEY CHARACTERISTICS OF A COMMUNITY

1. a group of people
2. shared interests, attitudes, and activities

3. common identity
   (agreement on a locality--perhaps a name)
4. frequent and continuing interaction
5. living in an identifiable territory
   (space which can be mapped)

It is possible that these identified characteristics are not entirely mutually exclusive. There may even need to be additions in order to be a generally acceptable and universally usable treatment of the concept community for community development practitioners. Those difficulties are probably among the good reasons for not being able to find a precise definition of community, including its characteristics, in the literature.

Sub-communities

For many of us, the identified key characteristics define a general community or what Beegle and Loomis call an overall social system. By saying that such a definition applies to a general community, I immediately open the door to the consideration of other kinds of communities. That is exactly the case. I'm convinced, as are many of the scholars in the community or community development field, that there are also sub-communities. Some prefer to label such sub-communities "functional communities" or "community components," "communities of interest," or "sub-systems." The definitions are not in perfect agreement here either, but in general we are all talking about a community concerned with a certain function. We are not describing a community which has all the key characteristics of the general community for all of human interaction needs.

All of the authors I mentioned in my identification of key characteristics of a general community contribute to the idea of functional sub-communities. Using the background reference materials I've mentioned and especially a fifth item by "the Lippit Team" [5] at Ann Arbor, Michigan, I've identified nine functional sub-communities which are most significant in Michigan community development work:

FUNCTIONAL SUB-COMMUNITIES

POLITICAL COMMUNITY:

County, Township, and City Governments; Political Organizations

EDUCATIONAL COMMUNITY:

Schools - Primary, Secondary, Vocational Colleges, Universities; Non-formal education

MASS COMMUNICATIONS COMMUNITY:

T.V., Newspapers, Radio

ECONOMIC COMMUNITY:

Employment, Industry, Business, Finances

RECREATION AND CULTURAL COMMUNITY:

Public Parks, Museums, Libraries and Various Facilities, Private Recreation and Leisure Time Arrangements

SUPPORTIVE SERVICES COMMUNITY:

Health Facilities and Opportunities, Welfare Efforts

SOCIAL CONTROL COMMUNITY:

Social Sanction, Police, Courts, Correction Services, etc.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY:

Churches and Spiritual Organizations

PHYSICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, ECOLOGICAL, OR ENVIRONMENTAL COMMUNITY

Planning, Development, Watershed, and Special Functional Arrangements

Again, this list fits for many, but it may not be all inclusive. A sub-community category may have to be split for some.

The important point is that for each function a certain kind of community operates to serve that need.

Community hierarchy

One very important additional point emerges in this building of understanding of communities. Communities operate at many levels or in a hierarchy whether we are talking about general communities or sub-communities. Examining a general community will help to make this point. Using the key characteristics, one can identify a unit which might commonly be called a neighborhood. At another level, (larger in size) a community--generally a little larger than a village or city--could be identified. Further, a community about the size of a county could be identified. A combination of counties--a multi-county region--is a community higher in the hierarchy. Continuing in this manner, we could look at the state community, multi-state community, the national community, the multi-nation community, and the world community. Similarly, we could examine functional sub-communities.

Mapping communities

It is interesting to read and hear about the community concept. Putting these ideas to work in our own circumstances will, however, help to reinforce them and make them workable tools for our roles. Going back to a community in Michigan where I served as a field agent a few years back and where I am currently involved in teaching a field techniques course, I've applied the idea of mapping my communities.

First, on my map I included the political communities. It seems desirable to draw them first because they are usually a set of readily identifiable boundaries. They demonstrate the hierarchy concept well, too.

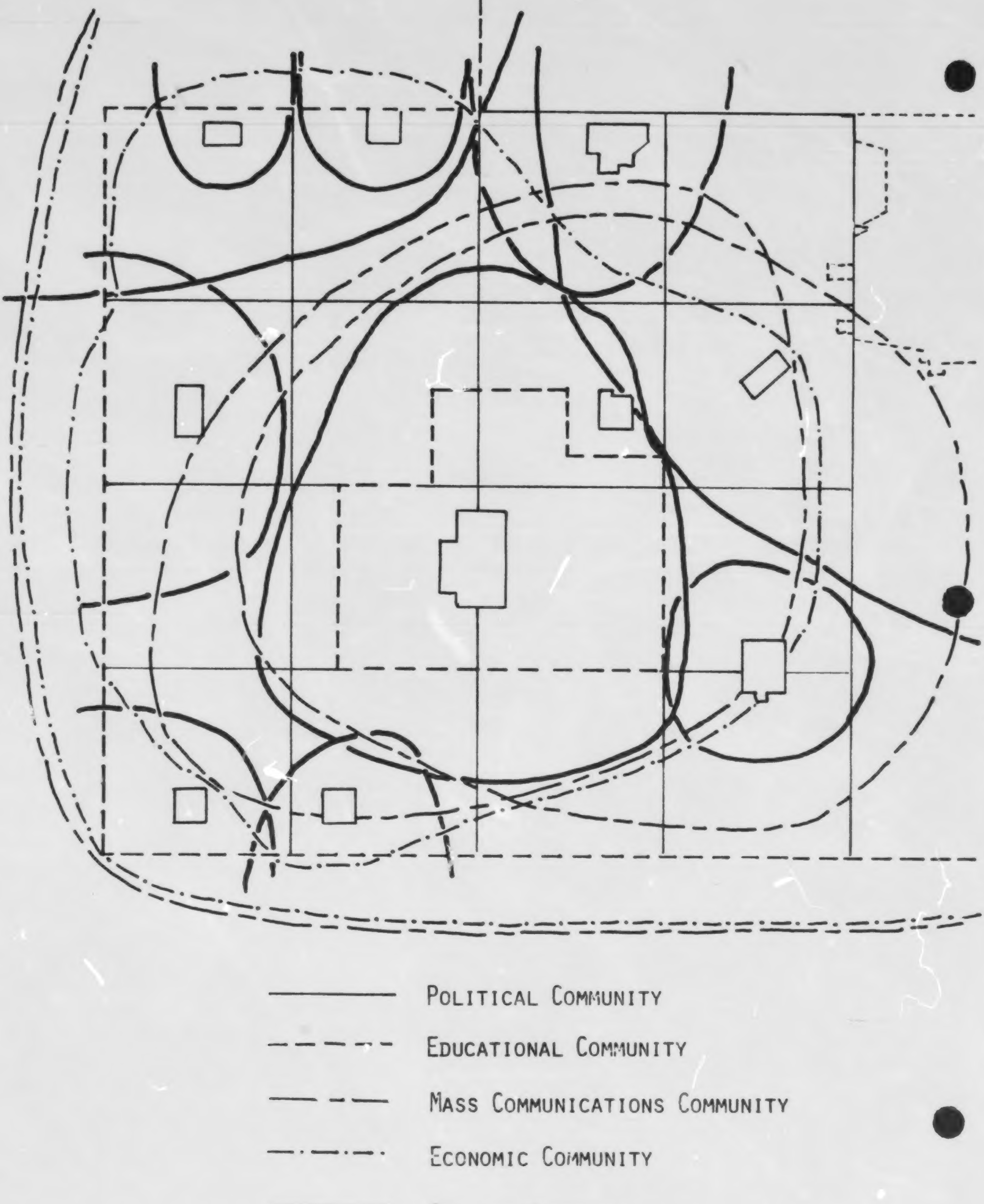
Because educational communities are usually easily identified, I included them next.

Identifying mass communications communities is a little more difficult because there usually are no identifiable boundaries. Drawing a community boundary line at the outer edge of newspaper, radio or T.V. coverage provides these boundaries.

In a similar manner, identifying the employment drawing power of an industry, the distance shoppers travel, and/or the distance banking is done, is the route to identifying the economic community.

We could continue with other functional sub-communities, but for our purpose our map is well filled.

Finally, by examining the lines on our map we can identify general communities; those communities where the people have shared concerns, call their community by a name, and interact frequently. The territory is identified very often by the intersection of the sub-community boundaries.


Political Community
Educational Community
Mass Communications Community
Economic Community
General Community

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RESOURCE PAPER
UNIT IV

THE COMMUNITY PROBLEM SOLVING PROCESS[*]

William J. Kimball and Manfred Thullen[**]

Introduction

The topic of this presentation could have been entitled, "The Community Development Process." However, for two reasons, it was thought advisable to use a different title.

First, this presentation, if entitled, "The Community Development Process," might have been misleading to some, who would understand that the discussion would be on an approach to community development. This was not intended. This presentation will deal with the general process by which communities can effect planned change in order to improve themselves, regardless of the approach a particular change agent or community developer might take in helping that community.

Second, the title was intended to make a point. Implicit in the title are several assumptions, which will be the basis for the discussion of the process communities can utilize in influencing the magnitude and direction of change affecting them and for planning purposeful change in community improvement. Implicit in the title, "The Community Problem Solving Process" are:

1. All communities are confronted with problems of varying magnitude and intensity. No community has reached a state of perfection where further improvement is impossible.
2. Communities can do something about their problems. There probably is no community which cannot do something about the problems it faces and the issues affecting it.

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[*] A paper presented at the North Central Region Intensive Training for Non-Metropolitan Development, Lincoln, Nebraska and East Lansing, Michigan, 1975, and published in conference proceedings (available from Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Nebraska-Lincoln).

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3. There is a process that communities can and do utilize for resolving issues and solving the problems they face.

Before discussing this process, however, it would be well to first clarify what is meant by the word "process," and further, to provide a general historical background as to how the community problem-solving process evolved.

The term process means a series of logical, identifiable, interrelated, and sequential steps which results in certain outcomes.

Thus by definition, the community problem-solving process consists of a series of several logical, identifiable, interrelated and sequential steps that will result in a community being able to solve a problem or improve a situation.

The community problem-solving process didn't originate all at once in one person's mind at a point in time. As a process, it has been evolving over time.

This process can be traced back to the end of the middle ages when traditional principles began to be replaced by logical inquiry. The thinkers of Western Europe were no longer satisfied with the long accepted truths; they insisted that reason had to be the test of truth. From these beginnings the "age of reason" flowered in the 1600s and 1700s. Scientists and philosophers put their emphasis on applying the reasoning process to their studies of basic natural phenomenon. They organized general rules for reaching scientific conclusions. The process they developed became known as "scientific method" and in the beginning their rational, step-by-step efforts were concentrated upon obtaining new knowledge for knowledge's sake, alone.

The basic steps in scientific method include:

1. The identification and narrowing down of a situation or phenomenon.
2. The gathering of relevant information about the situation or phenomenon.
3. The formulation of a proposed explanation for the situation or phenomenon. This educated guess was usually called a hypothesis.
4. The development of a procedure for studying the situation or phenomenon testing the hypothesis. This became known as experimentation.

5. The carrying out of the procedure and observing and recording what happened.
6. The determination of whether the results supported the hypothesis or not. (It was at this point that it was found out if the proposed explanation was satisfactory.)

As already mentioned, the Scientific Method was used, at first, primarily for the pursuit of new knowledge--for its own sake. This was natural, since it was first applied during a time when there was such a vast unknown which enticed the curiosity of most "scientists."

As the world moved on through the 1700s and into the 1800s and the beginnings of the "Industrial Revolution," the scientific method became more widespread. Knowledge about the universe accumulated and people began to use the process for another purpose. This second step in the evolution of the scientific method was a very crucial one. The key difference was that instead of using it for building up knowledge for its own sake, people began to use it in an applied way. They used it to formulate solutions to practical problems of everyday--both natural and human. The steps of this process were essentially the same.

It was the application of the scientific method that led to some of the great changes in society over the past 200 to 400 years. It contributed significantly to industrialization, mechanization, the more efficient production of food and fiber, specialization of function, urbanization, increased communication, etc. This process has become imbedded in our culture and social systems and has been used in many different ways and for different purposes. In sum, it became the basis for our "rational society."

By evolution, the scientific method has been applied to different aspects of our society. It has been given new names and applied to various circumstances, for instance: "The Experimental Design;" "The Decision Making Process;" "The Educational Program Planning Process;" and "The Planning Process."

However, all of these were based on the scientific method and are essentially still the same process. They are rational processes with interrelated and sequential steps that lead to an end result.

The Decision Making Process generally has the following steps:

- definition of the problem
- development of alternative courses of action
- consideration of consequences of each alternative
- evaluation of the alternatives and their consequences
- selection of one alternative (making a decision)

Some people add one step: The step of decision-execution. Others add even a further step: evaluation of execution, for further reference.

As another example, the Educational Program Planning Process generally is described as having the following steps:

- collecting facts on the situation
- analyzing the situation
- identifying educational problems
- deciding on educational objectives as to how to deal with identified problems
- developing alternative educational methods for dealing with problems and deciding which ones to use
- implementing the course of action

This set of steps in the Community Problem-Solving Process are:

1. Examine the community situation.
2. Arrive at goals for the community.
3. Identify the key problems.
4. Determine the problem priorities.
5. Consider alternative solutions.
6. Select the most appropriate courses of action.
7. Develop an action plan.
8. Implement the plan.
9. Evaluate the results and repeat the process.

In some applications of this scientific method the entire process is undertaken by the scientist--the expert. In the Community Problem Solving Process, ideally the steps are undertaken through a combination of inputs by the "community scientists" and those who live in the community being improved. In some of the steps there may be a greater need for inputs by the community developers, in others by the citizens and the inputs needed may be different from one community to the next and from one time to another. The kinds of problems a community faces in itself will usually influence the amount of professional input needed.

The identification of some of the subject matter inquiry within each step for a typical community improvement effort should help to clarify the process.

1. Examine the community situation.
    - What are the trends in population, in income, in employment?
    - How do people feel about their community?
    - What is the appearance of the business district, the homes, the streets?
    - Where are the young people going?
2. Arrive at goals for the community.
    - What do the people actually want their community to become?
    - Are there any limits to the size the community is to become?
    - Is there any industry or business which would be unacceptable?
    - Is there to be a theme or emphasis in the community?
3. Identify the key problems.
    - What is giving the community the most difficulty?
    - What issues keep reappearing in community discussions?
    - What are the real reasons for out-migration of young people?
4. Determine the problem priorities.
    - Which problem appears to be at the bottom of the reversing trends?
    - When all the emotional outcrys are completed, what is it that could really make a difference in the community?
    - Is that really the problem or is it a symptom of something deeper?
5. Consider alternative solutions.
    - What are several different ways we could get that result?
    - If there are no outside funds available, is there a way we could solve the problem ourselves?
6. Select the most appropriate courses of action.
    - Which effort will get us what we need in the shortest time?
    - What is the least cost--in dollars and in other negative effects?

   - What solution is likely to trigger other favorable results?
   - What will make the most difference in the long run?

7. Develop an action plan.
   - What are the exact steps toward getting where we want to go?
   - Who does what?
   - What is our timetable?
8. Implement the plan.
   - How do we make sure it gets underway and keeps going?
   - Do we need a special organization or committee to make it go?
   - Who will play the overseer role?
9. Evaluate the results and repeat the process.
   - What can we measure to be sure the effort made any significant contribution?
   - What evidence do we have that the effort really caused the change?
   - What does this step suggest we need to do for further improvement?

In this listing of points of inquiry for a typical community involved in the Community Problem Solving Process, there was no attempt to be all inclusive. Neither was there any attempt to specifically identify which aspects should be essentially the role of the citizen or which should be primarily performed by the community professional. Again, the reader is reminded that variation in communities, citizen participants, professionals, specific community problems, and time are among the factors which will influence exactly how the Community Problem Solving Process is applied. An excellent source book in this process is Warren's, Studying Your Community.[1] Most Extension offices also have special publications and able assistance.

There are those who will react somewhat negatively about the extent to which this process has been systemized. They argue that they have been successfully assisting in community problem-solving for years without all the step naming. They further argue that they can't operate any other way except "by gut feelings" or "hunches." Additionally, there are those who insist that organizing the approach to community improvement is impossible since it really develops as it progresses with a lot of innate human inputs by those who are more creative than scientific. These reactions are real. The authors are inclined to argue that often the procedures are "hit upon" or gradually learned by the creators and those who came up the hard way, without the steps actually being recognized--certainly not in their totality. In any case, there will always be real need for the "artists," "the gamblers," and the "seasoned veterans" even in the Community Problem Solving Process. The abundant evidence of success in community improvement efforts with the use of this process--especially in difficult situations where "nothing could be overlooked"--is, however, the strongest argument for application of the Community Problem Solving Process.

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[1] Warren, Roland L., Studying Your Community. New York: The Free Press, 1965.

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT[*]

Manfred Thullen[**]

Introduction

Not too long ago, a predominant approach to community development existed. This approach was an accepted way for working with and in communities. Very few alternative approaches were considered or utilized by community development workers.

Essentially, the community development approach that was prevalent in the past emphasized group decisions and needed actions which resulted from community consensus, collaboration, and cooperation. It was felt that if these conditions were not present, meaningful community change or development was not possible. It was an approach which promoted gradual changes in the community.

However, with the large number of people that have increasingly become involved in development activities within communities in the recent past, who have tried new and different approaches to this task, it has become apparent that there are different ways in which development can be brought about.

As new approaches to development evolved, two phenomena occurred. On the one hand, those who conceived of and implemented a new approach would describe it as something else than community development. Their position was that community development was one approach to change, while theirs was a different approach that merited a different name--since they didn't want their approach confused with what was known as community development. On the other hand, there were others who, using new alternatives to development, took the position that their new approach was really the right community development approach, and that other approaches were not community development. They felt that their way was the only way through which meaningful planned change could take place in communities.

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[*] A paper presented at the Intensive Training for Non-Metropolitan Development, Lincoln, Nebraska, and East Lansing, Michigan, April and September, 1975, and published in the conference proceedings (available from Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Nebraska-Lincoln).

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Today, through a combination of new available knowledge, new freedom to experiment and a willingness to consider alternatives, a welcome state of change in the outlook of people concerning alternatives to development exists. There is a growing number of people who feel that there are valid different approaches to development, that none of them is the right approach under all circumstances, and that all can be classified as community development. There also is a growing belief that it is important for those who are engaged in development efforts to know about the different approaches that can be used in different situations and to know how to use different approaches whenever and wherever appropriate.

The purposes for this presentation are for development agency staff:

1. To understand the existence of different approaches to development;
2. To understand how different approaches have been used; and
3. To gain insights on their and their agency's approaches for more effective development efforts.

In this presentation, "approaches" will be discussed from two directions. First, some of the great variety of approaches that have been developed and used in the relatively recent past will be described. They will be described from which basis they developed and the kind of rationale they have employed.

Next, alternative approaches from a more abstract and theoretical perspective--basically using the typology of three "strategies" for social change at the community level, developed by Roland Warren, will be examined.

Finally, these two perspectives will be merged into an overall framework. Hopefully, this framework can be a meaningful tool for those engaged in development efforts.

A Description of Different Approaches to Development

During the past 20-30 years, a great variety of approaches to development have emerged. Some were identified as "community development," and for some, new names were coined. However, if proprietary interests are put aside, it becomes apparent that what all of these approaches have in common is a desire to improve the quality of life in communities.

For discussion purposes, a series of alternatives will be described. The assumption is that all are alternative approaches to community development. All use the community problem-solving process to one extent or another and all are aimed at improving communities. Each approach is given a descriptive name or title--to better illustrate it. Most of the titles were made up, but some have been borrowed from other sources.

The different approaches will be discussed in the general order they evolved. However, before they are described, a few brief words of caution are in order. Each described approach is highly simplified, in some cases even oversimplified. This was done in order to make a point. In addition, there also is a certain amount of overlapping among these categories. They were not meant to be mutually exclusive, but descriptive of narrow alternatives, again, in order to make a point. Finally, it must be remembered that this classification is purely descriptive. Later in the presentation, these approaches will be fitted into a more rational framework based on theory.

It would help, as each approach is described, to think about examples from personal experiences.

1. The "Community" Approach

This is one approach that has been borrowed largely from Cary, who developed it in a recent publication entitled, "Approaches to Community Development" [1].

This approach was picked first, because it represents the "original" approach which used to be equated with community development for a long time. Although it is not the exclusive approach any longer, it is still an approach which is widely used here in the United States and in many parts of the world.

a. Some major elements to this approach are:
   - work within a well-defined "community" (usually a small one)
   - holistic approach to community change
   - popular or broad based participation by most of the community residents
   - high emphasis on people involvement
   - high emphasis on consensus and agreement on action
   - high emphasis on internal communication within the community
   - attempts to involve all aspects and segments of the community in concert toward common goals

b. Some basic premises to this approach are:
   - One has to work with the total community, otherwise change will not be significant.
   - High participation by all elements of the community contribute to the identification of common needs, goals, and strategies for dealing with them.
   - It is only when the whole community is involved that progress can be made toward real improvement.

c. Some examples:
   - Cooperative Extension community development efforts in some states
   - Community development clubs or organizations in several states
   - Community development efforts in developing countries
   - State-sponsored community improvement programs

2. The "Education" Approach

This approach is closely related to the first one. It also is an approach that has been practiced for a long time.

a. Some major elements to this approach are:
   - Educational programs for community leaders and citizens on community problems and issues
   - Seminars and workshops for community decision-makers
   - Information systems that "feed" information and data about community problems and issues to community leaders and citizens

b. Some basic premises to this approach are:

- If only people (or their leaders) were educated enough and had enough knowledge about: what the issues and problems of the community are; what the causes of these problems and issues are; what kind of alternative solutions are available for dealing with the problems and issues; what resources are available; then these people would be able to solve all their community problems.
- All people are rational and if they were only educated enough, or have enough knowledge, they would be able to approach all community problems in a rational way and solve them.

c. Some examples:

- Cooperative Extension programs in most states
- Other university extension and adult education programs
- Community college programs in some states
- League of Women Voters programs

3. The "Human Resource Development" Approach

This has been a more recent approach, but again it has been closely related to the past two approaches.

a. Some major elements to this approach are:

- High emphasis on individual development
- Focus is on people and their ability to function within group situations
- High emphasis on self-help and "grass roots"
- Low emphasis on the physical, biological environment
- Low emphasis on visible outcome or output

b. Some basic premises to this approach are:

- Communities are made up of people.
- Most people don't have the knowledge and skills for working effectively within their communities.
- To help communities, we must therefore help people develop to their full potential.
- If we help people develop to their full potential, we will then automatically help the community develop.

c. Some examples:
  - Many adult education programs
  - Some extension programs
  - Private group programs, such as foundation-sponsored community development programs
  - Some past Office of Economic Opportunity programs

4. The "Planning, Design, and Architectural" Approach

This approach, though different from the previous ones, has also been around for some time. It still has many proponents, though less than it did in the near past. This category lumps several different approaches together because they are so similar in outlook and in the desired end results.

a. Some major elements to this approach are
  - A "Master Plan"
  - Highly geared toward the improvement of the aesthetics of the community
  - The interrelationship of space, volume, and design is highly important
  - Low emphasis on people and their involvement
  - Attempts to design physically beautiful and ecologically (natural ecology) sound communities
  - Often highly technical in orientation

b. Some basic premises to this approach are:
  - The architectural and design components of a community are highly important.
  - If only the community were "designed" better, most of our problems would go away, e.g., if the roads and streets were better designed we would not have traffic problems.
  - If communities and people would only use consistent architectural design, and if our cities were made up of well-designed and beautiful buildings, parks, streets, etc., we would not have urban problems we have today.

- If we only had a "master plan" that would show how everything should be, and then stick to it, we could deal with most of our problems.

c. Some examples:

- Official planning efforts in major cities and metropolitan areas
- Planning efforts in counties
- Planning efforts by consultants
- Central business district planning efforts, particularly urban renewal programs

5. The "Community Facilities Improvement and Physical Development Approach

This approach has been closely allied with the previous one, though it takes a somewhat different perspective on development. It also is more recent in origin.

a. Some major elements to this approach are:

- Highly oriented toward "bricks and mortar"
- Very "action" oriented--visible action
- Usually technically oriented
- Low people orientation and involvement

b. Some basic premises to this approach are:

- The real problems of most communities are that they lack the proper facilities and services that the citizens need, e.g., water systems, sewers, solid waste disposal facilities, police, fire protection services, etc.
- If communities only had the facilities and services that people need, most of our communities would be in very good shape.

c. Some examples:

- Some regional planning and development efforts
- Economic development district and OEDP programs
- Resource conservation and development efforts
- Many Corps of Engineers programs
- USDA rural development programs
- Law enforcement programs
- Regional health programs

6. The "Economic Development" Approach

This approach is also more recent in origin than others, and it is closely related to the previous approaches. This approach has been widely used and advocated in this country and across the world in the past 30-40 years.

a. Some major elements to this approach are:

- Economic plans
- High emphasis on industrial development
- High emphasis on job training programs--for greater industrial and business development
- Emphasis on the development of new technology to foster new industry
- Strategies for increasing population growth and decreasing population outmigration
- High emphasis on growth--more, bigger, better

b. Some basic premises to this approach are:

- If only the economy of the community were developed and prosperous, all problems would take care of themselves.
- If everybody had a good paying job, our community would be in good shape.
- If we only had enough industries, or if we could attract more industries, our problems would disappear.
- Community development equals community growth equals economic growth equals population growth.
- If we could only increase our tax base, we could take care of most of our problems.

c. Some examples:

- Economic Development District programs
- Industrial development commission efforts
- Chamber of Commerce programs
- Multi-state regional efforts (e.g., Applachian, Upper Great Lakes, Four Corners, etc.)
- Foreign aid programs

7. The "Regional Development" Approach

This is also a relatively recent approach to development, and is related to the past several approaches. It is an approach that is still gaining strength and is growing.

a. Some major elements to this approach are:

- Multi-county or even multi-state programs
- Multi-jurisdictional programs--or else
- Emphasis on economies of scale
- Emphasis on efficiency
- Emphasis on avoiding duplication of efforts
- High emphasis on rationality

b. Some basic premises to this approach are:

- Most community problems are too big to be solved by individual communities or political jurisdictions.
- Communities must work together to work on their mutual problems.
- If only communities and/or political jurisdictions would work together in harmony on their common problems and in sharing their resources, we wouldn't have many problems.

c. Some examples:

- Regional planning and development programs, on substate basis
- Multi-state regional efforts
- Multi-jurisdictional contract arrangements
- Councils of Government
- Area comprehensive planning efforts
- Some Resource Conservation and Development efforts

8. The "Power Structure" Approach

This is a different approach from the ones already described. It has been around, in various forms, for about 30 years. Often it is not so much an approach as it is a state-of-mind or a philosophical foundation which governs the behavior of the community change agents as they pursue their approach to development. However, because in some instances it has very definitely been used as an approach to development, it has been included.

a. Some major elements to this approach are:

- Work done "behind the scenes"--low visibility
- Low citizen participation
- Emphasis on involving only those "who count," or "who have power" or "who are important," or "who make most of the decisions anyway."

b. Some basic premises to this approach are:

- Most community decisions are made by a few powerful or influential individuals.
- Thus, if these can be identified and enlisted, then we can solve most of our community problems.
- There are only a few in each community who have the capacity for deciding what should be done to improve it.
- If we involve the right people, we wouldn't be "spinning our wheels" so much and would get some things done.

c. Some examples:

- Some Cooperative Extension efforts
- Some city, county, and other planning efforts

9. The "Helping the Disadvantaged" Approach

In some ways, this approach is the opposite of the one just described. It is, however, an approach that has come to the forefront only in the past 10 years or so. It seems to have peaked and is apparently declining at present.

a. Some major elements to this approach are:

- Organization of the "poor," "disadvantaged," "people of limited resources," "minorities that have been oppressed," etc.
- Emphasis on self-help and "bootstrap" efforts--"We will go it alone--just give us the means."
- Emphasis on local autonomy of programs that were designed to help the disadvantaged, and control of these programs by the disadvantaged
- Highly "people" oriented

b. Some basic premises to this approach are:

- Most of our community problems result from inequities of distribution of goods, services, and access to services within our communities.
- One is not really engaged in community development unless one is working on the problems of the disadvantaged sector in our communities--because their problems are the key problems in our communities.
- If we could only solve the problems of our poor, disadvantaged and/or oppressed minorities, we would solve most of our problems.

c. Some examples:

- Many past OEO and "War on Poverty" programs
- Many social services programs
- Model cities programs
- "Bootstrap" programs and operations in neglected, isolated, and depressed areas

(A highly related approach, which merits special mention, and which has become more prevalent in recent years, has had the following premises:

- The only kind of valid community development efforts are those which try to attack urban and metropolitan problems, since it is here that most of our people live and here that we have the greatest problems.
- Most urban problems are a result of racial discrimination and oppression.
- Thus, community development programs, if they are to be effective and relevant, should be aimed at providing blacks and other minorities in inner cities with economic, social, and political power.
- Any other efforts cannot be considered valid community development efforts.)

10. The "Conflict" Approach

This approach to development also is relatively new. For the most part, it has only become visible as an approach in the last 10-15 years.

a. Some major elements to this approach are:
  - "Direct action" - sit ins - protest marches - and in some cases, even civic disobedience
  - Organization of fractions - of the aggrieved--minorities--the poor
  - Sharp delineation of "sides" - polarization of communities
  - Struggles for power or for changing institutions

b. Some basic premises to this approach are:
  - It is useless to work "within" the system for the purposes of dealing with most community problems.
  - Action is needed to "shake" the system, to make it respond.
  - Drastic action is necessary to significantly change our society so that it can really deal with its major problems.
  - Any other approach that attempts to deal with the system is a waste of time.
  - The present "system" has not been able to deal with the serious problems society is confronted with, thus why use it?

c. Some examples:
  - Some past OEO and "War on Poverty" projects
  - Many inner-city urban programs
  - "Saul Alinski type" efforts
  - Many "private" organizations working with racial or ethnic minorities, such as Black Panthers, Brown Berets, A.I.M., etc.

11. The "Radical Change" or "Reform" Approach

This is really a variant of the last mentioned approach. However, it seems to be an approach that is gaining some support recently. It deals with less open confrontation than the conflict approach but is similar in its aims and assumptions. In some ways it is an approach that has evolved from the "Conflict" approach--more sophisticated in its methods.

a. Some major elements to this approach are:
  - Organization of the aggrieved - minorities
  - Acquisition of political power
  - Attempts to take over established systems of decision-making

- Working mostly "within" the system, i.e., taking it over or using it for own ends.

b. Some basic assumptions to this approach are:
  - "We can have the power to do things, we just need to take it away from those who have it."
  - The system is really not that bad, just had been misused or used inequitably, thus it needs to be reformed and redirected.
  - Once those who have been mistreated by the system have taken on the power and reformed it, they can deal with the problems communities have been faced with.

c. Some examples:
  - Some community action groups and programs
  - Some model cities efforts

12. The "Revolution" or "Total Change" Approach

There is some doubt as to whether this approach should have been included in this discussion, but it is an approach that deserves some scrutiny. First, because it does represent the other end of the continuum, at the opposite end to the approaches which attempt to work with and within our established society. Second, because this is an approach that seems to have gained a small but significant following in our country. This approach has been around for some time in many other parts of the world, but only now does there seem to be an element of acceptance of it, by a few, in this country.

a. Some major elements to this approach are:
  - Revolution, whether by peaceful or forceful means
  - A complete change in the way society is structured
  - A complete change in the basic value systems governing society
  - Idealism and dogmatism by its proponents as well as great dedication
  - Unwillingness by proponents to consider or discuss any other change approaches
  - The "ends justify the means"
  - Planned, aimed, and/or random violence

b. Some basic premises to this approach are:
  - Our society is completely "sick."
  - Our society can never deal with its problems because it is, in itself, the cause of them.
  - Thus, we must completely change our society before we can adequately deal with our problems.
  - Any other approach is a complete waste of time.

c. Some examples:
  - Different revolutionary groups--usually small splinter groups

These constitute 12 descriptive approaches. As can be seen, they are very simplistic descriptions and have only been elaborated on very briefly. They also are categories which were developed based on personal experience and knowledge. No doubt some other approaches have been missed, and that other people, with a different background and experience, could develop different sets of alternative approaches. However, these were developed to illustrate, in a simplistic fashion, the great variety of approaches used in community development.

With this basic description of different approaches that can be identified in the field of community development, it now would be useful to turn to a different perspective on alternative approaches to development.

Three Basic Alternative Development Approaches

It is not too difficult to develop, on a purely descriptive basis, a number of different alternative approaches to development with some observation, experience, and analysis. The question is whether it is possible to find a more fundamental system for classifying and ordering all the different kinds of ways that change agents approach development.

Such a system does exist, one that is relatively simple to understand and which makes a great deal of sense. In addition, it is a system well founded in social change theory. Namely, the system of classifying types of change strategies that Warren developed in the first essay of his book, Truth, Love and Social Change [2]. The following discussion will thus be borrowing very heavily on his concepts and subject matter.

Basically, Warren has been able to classify three major alternative approaches to development efforts. The three approaches are called: "Collaborative Strategies," "Campaign Strategies," and Contest Strategies."

1. The "Collaborative Strategy" Alternative

This alternative approach to development is based on the assumption that substantial agreement exists between the change agent (party or parties who want to bring about a change) and the community on:

a. what is the situation in the community, and

b. the issue (an aspect or possibility of purposive change which is being actively considered) or issues that need to be addressed by the community.

A further assumption is that common values and interests between the proponents of change and the community do exist.

In other words, an "issue consensus" situation is present, in which:

1. there is basic agreement as to the way an issue should be resolved,

   or

2. there is a good likelihood of reaching such an agreement once the issue is fully considered.

This state of "issue consensus" can arise out of common interests among the parties involved in the development efforts, based on common values, or a convergence of interests on what needs to be done, even though the values of the different parties involved might be different.

The role of the change agent is not so much as that of proposing changes but of helping the community reach a consensus about the issue and how to address it.

If there are differences, they are only minor--based on not enough or the right kind of information. The assumption is that if all the parties concerned knew enough about the issue and communicate well with each other, agreement will be reached.

This kind of an approach to development appeals to many people engaged in community development efforts because there is no element of coersion; it is based on democratic ideals and is a process that should work among "rational" and "reasonable" people.

It is not always possible to find such basic agreement among the parties involved in development efforts, however, and thus other alternative approaches to development must be considered when differences do exist.

2. The "Campaign Strategy" Alternative

This approach to development is based on a situation where an "Issue Difference" exists. That is, when at the time the development effort is proposed, there is:

1. a lack of agreement among the principal parties that an issue exists, or
2. a lack of agreement as to how an issue should be resolved.

However, under either situation, there is an assumption that agreement can eventually be reached.

This situation can arise when a change agent sees an issue, but the community does not recognize it, or when both the change agent and the community agree on the issue, but disagree on how to deal with it. From the change agent's perspective, he is dealing with apathy, in the first case, and opposition in the second case.

In this kind of a situation, the change agent's role revolves around attempts to:

1. Persuade and convince the community that the issue he sees is really an issue; or
2. Persuade and convince the community that his means for addressing the issue are the rights ones.

Persuasion can be accomplished in different ways:

1. "educational" campaigns, public relations efforts, obtaining endorsements, etc.;
2. applying subtle pressure to key individuals and groups for support; and/or
3. offering various kinds of inducements or rewards to key individuals and groups for going along with the proposals.

The objective of "campaign strategies" is to eventually obtain consensus about the issue and means for dealing with it.

Again, however, situations in communities do exist where there is little hope for obtaining consensus about the issues or how to deal with them, and again there is a need to consider another strategy for these situations.

3. The "Contest Strategy" Alternative

This alternative approach to development is based on a situation in which "Issue Dissensus" exists. In this situation, the two parties (change agent and target community) cannot agree at all about the issue or how to deal with it. This situation usually occurs when there are basic value and belief differences between the parties. When there are basic differences in the values and beliefs of two parties, then one party refuses to recognize the existence of an issue that the other party is attempting to deal with or one party is absolutely opposed to the ways of dealing with an issue that both parties agree do exist.

The role of the change agent is therefore that of a "contestant," in which he pursues his own goals in opposition to others in the community.

The contest role of the change agent can be played in different ways:

1. Confrontation and contest within acceptable and normal procedures, e.g., through the courts, in legislatures. The attempt is to win over enough control so that the "proposal" being advocated can be implemented.
2. Attempts to change the distribution of power that controls whether something is an issue, or how an issue should be dealt with, e.g., by electing the "right kind of people," by proving the backing of large numbers of people, legal demonstrations, etc.
3. Confrontation and contest outside the normal and acceptable procedures existing within society. This means that one or both parties break the "rules of the contest," e.g., sit-ins, illegal demonstrations, etc.

Warren makes a distinction between "contest strategies" and "conflict strategies." He defines a conflict strategy as one in which there is not only Issue Dissensus, but where the situation is so that one party tries to eliminate the other party, or both try to eliminate each other. He did not develop this as a separate alternative approach to development, but this could be considered as a possible fourth approach--not an approach that would be advocated, but one that needs to be recognized and understood today because it is being used throughout the world and even within the United States on occasion.

Integration of the Two Perspectives on Alternative Approaches

The twelve first mentioned descriptive approaches can, with some "pushing and pulling" be fitted into the three basic "strategy" alternatives of Collaboration, Campaign, and Contest. Again, a word of caution--we are dealing with complex processes and concepts and stripping them down to very simplistic terms for the sake of illustrating points and stimulating discussion.

1. The "Collaborative Strategy" Approach
    - (a) Basic elements to this approach:
        - (i) "Issue Consensus" - Actual or potential consensus about - the issue, or
          ways of dealing with the issue.
        - (ii) The change agent is a facilitator, stimulator, catalyst.
        - (iii) The change agent doesn't have preconceived ideas about an issue or how to resolve an issue.
        - (iv) People and factions will agree upon the issue and how to deal with it once they all have enough knowledge.
    - (b) Descriptive "approaches" which fit:
        - (i) The "Community" approach
        - (ii) The "Education" approach
        - (iii) The "Human Resources" approach
        - (iv) The "Power Structure" approach
2. The "Campaign Strategy" Approach
    - (a) Basic elements to this approach:
        - (i) "Issue Difference" - Lack of agreement among the principal parties on:
          - whether an issue exists, or
          - how an issue is to be resolved.

(ii) Although there are differences, there is an assumption that agreement can be reached on the issue and how to deal with it.

(iii) The change agent role is that of a persuader, campaigner, or convincer.

(iv) The change agent has preconceived ideas about issues and solutions to issues, which have to be "sold" to an apathetic community or which have to gain acceptance over opposition within the community.

(b) Descriptive "approaches" which fit:

(i) The "Planning, Design and Architectural" approach

(ii) The "Community Facilities Improvement and Physical Development" approach

(iii) The "Economic Development" approach

(iv) The "Regional Development" approach

3. The "Contest Strategy" Approach

(a) Basic elements to this approach:

(i) "Issue Dissensus" - Complete disagreement (based on values and beliefs) about

- whether an issue exists
- how an issue is to be resolved

(ii) The differences are basically not reconcilable within the foreseeable future, thus one or the other side has to "win." It's an "us" versus "them" contest.

(iii) The role of the change agent is that of a contestant who tries to have "his side" win.

(iv) The change agent and the "other side" both have "preconceived" ideas about what is an issue and/or what its solution should be.

(v) The change agent attempts to work: "within the system," at changing the distribution of power, or by confrontation and working "outside the system."

(vi) The outcome is that one or the other side "wins."

(b) Descriptive "approaches" which fit:
    (i) The "Helping the Disadvantaged" approach
    (ii) The "Conflict" approach
    (iii) The "Radical Change" approach

4. Finally, a fourth possible major alternative approach to development labeled the "Conflict Strategy" approach should be considered. Its major elements would be:
    - Complete "issue dissensus"--absolute disagreement on issues and methods for dealing with them
    - No reconciliation between the factions is possible.
    - Either side (or both) tries to completely and physically eliminate the other side--a struggle for survival in the literal sense.
    - The role of the change agent is to eliminate the "other side."
    - The change agent will use any method that is necessary to achieve his ends--with the "ends justifying the means"--including working with and through the "system" all the way to destruction of property and actual violence on and killing off the opposition.

   The one "descriptive" approach which would fit into this alternative would be the "Revolution" or "Total Change" approach.

Some Conclusions and Implications

Even though on a descriptive basis it is possible to identify a host of different approaches being used in community development, there are basically three major alternative approaches in which the former can be fitted. The question is how can community development workers use this information?

The first major conclusion, which has already been alluded to, is that there are different ways in which the development of communities can be brought about. There is no one right way, but there are some alternatives that are more effective than others depending on the situation. The factors that have to be considered in the situation to decide on what alternatives are best, would include:

1. The personal orientation of the community development worker himself. What are his beliefs and values? What are his skills and knowledge for working in different situations? How flexible can he be?
2. The orientation and philosophy of the agency or organization the community developer works for. What are the limits that the agency permits, in terms of situations it will become involved in and what kind of alternative approaches will it allow its staff to become involved in.
3. What are the issues that confront the community. Does community consensus, difference, or dissensus exist about the issues.
4. What are the alternative means for addressing the issues in the community. Is there consensus, difference, or dissensus about the means for dealing with an issue.

Ideally, it should be possible for change agents to use all three basic alternatives to development whenever and wherever appropriate. Although most would hope that all community development were possible using the "collaborative strategy" approach, practical reality precludes this. In most communities, rural or urban, it is usually not possible to find "issue consensus" situations when significant issues or problems are being considered. Most significant issues and problems in communities result in both "issue difference" or even "issue dissensus" situations. Thus, change agents should be able to adapt their approaches accordingly.

In fact, without being aware of it, most community developers do use more than one basic approach to development. The most common combination of approaches used is that of the "campaign strategy" approach followed by the "collaborative strategy" approach. Usually the agent sees an issue that a community doesn't, convinces the community that the issue exists, and then proceeds to facilitate collaborative efforts in resolving the issue. Or, the agent knows of a way of resolving an issue in the community, convinces the community that his method is the best, and then they work together on implementing the needed change.

The real difficulty in adapting to the situation and being able to apply all three major alternative approaches comes when there is a real "issue dissensus" situation in the community. Most change agents who can and do use the "collaborative" and "campaign strategy" approaches, hesitate to become involved in a "contest strategy" approach. They hesitate because of their personal inclinations, philosophy, beliefs, and values or because the organization or agency orientation would not allow them to become involved in such an approach, even if the individual worker was so inclined. In addition, those who do regularly use the "contest strategy" approach, do so based on their beliefs and values and have no inclination for using the other approaches.

Under these circumstances, it still is important, however, that change agents are aware of the different alternatives and can recognize them when they are being employed by themselves and others. It may be that, even though one is reluctant to actively use the "contest strategy" approach, it is possible to work indirectly with those who do employ this approach. It also is important that, within the limits that one personally sets or that one's organization or agency sets, one can use those alternatives that are available in a flexible and appropriate manner.

There is no one right approach to development for all communities under all circumstances. Approaches need to be mixed according to the situation. Community developers need to be flexible, themselves, and also recognize different approaches used by others. They also need to examine what approach they, as individuals use and why. In addition, they need to examine what approaches their agency or organization take and approve of. Individuals and agencies need to examine if the approaches they use are the result of a conscious effort to use the appropriate approaches or as a result of history, tradition, rules and regulations.

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